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Agricultural Cooperatives Congress Begins

AU2111122888 Tirana ATA in English
0904 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Tirana, November 21 (ATA)—Amidst a great revolutionary enthusiasm, the 6th Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives began its proceedings today, at 9 o'clock at the Palace of Congresses, in the capital.

Delegates from all the districts of the country, representatives of the cooperativist peasantry, distinguished working people of agriculture, cadres and specialists, veterans, heroes of socialist labour, etc., take part in it.

Delegations from the Peasant's League of Vietnam, the Committee of Agriculture of the DPR of Korea, of the National Small Farmers' Leadership of Cuba, of the Cooperatives Union of Tanzania, as well as personalities, friends, and well-wishers from Greece, Egypt, Italy, and Turkey attend as well.

Those present welcomed with great enthusiasm the entering into the hall of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and the other party and state leaders.

The congress was declared open by the hero of socialist labour, Kristaq Gjata.

Then the minister of agriculture, Themie Thomai, held the report "Let Us Strengthen and Improve the Cooperativist Order for the Increase of Production and the Progress of the Socialist Countryside."

Alia Addresses Congress

AU2211102688 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1430 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Speech by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, on the opening day of the Sixth Agricultural Cooperatives Congress in Tirana on 21 November—recorded]

[Text] Dear comrade delegates, the attention of our entire society is directed today toward your congress, which will draw up a balance sheet of achievements and will discuss the prospects for the cooperativist movement. This interest is a natural one, because agriculture represents the main source of the people's food and is one of the fundamental activities in the nation's independent economic development. It is a particular pleasure for me to be able to convey from this platform, to you and to our entire unbowed, patriotic peasantry, masters of large-scale socialist production, the most ardent greetings and best wishes of the Central Committee of our AWP. [cheers]

I express the conviction that your congress, which has as its guide the line of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the socialist transformation of the countryside and the modernization of agriculture, will play a very important role in elevating the cooperative movement and our agriculture to a new, higher level.

Your congress has been prepared with the participation of the entire peasantry. The mass discussions of the draft statutes, the many opinions given and proposals put forward to strengthen the cooperatives are a major expression of viewpoint to crown your mission with complete success. This debate was also a clear expression of our socialist democracy. In our country, key problems of politics and of development are freely discussed in public meetings, and among families. This stems from the unity of interests and the common aim that inspires the members of our society. The party and people together provide solutions to every problem and carry them out. These close ties and militant efforts to progress forward forge our unity, enrich the party line, and strengthen the feeling of togetherness in determining the destiny of socialism and the revolution.

Pointing the countryside toward a new life has been one of the greatest historical victories of our socialist revolution. In the decades of the epoch of the party, the entire country has been, and still is, in continual change. But in the countryside, this revolution has been waged with greater intensity than anywhere else. Throughout the whole of this period, a thorough transformation has been accomplished; the nature of property has been changed, the appearance of the landscape has been changed, the life of the people has bloomed, and their thinking has been liberated. Albania's cooperativist order has sunk deep roots in the awareness of the people of town and countryside. The working people of agriculture see their happiness and prosperity, their present and future, as inseparable from common property. Cooperativism is for us a confirmed form of social order, in all its aspects, entirely integrated in our socioeconomic system as an organic part of our new life.

The historical experience of socialism shows that continuity on the road of cooperativism has become a touchstone of the continuity of the revolution. [cheers] The destruction of the values and victories of the revolution by revisionists in the countries of the East began precisely with the destruction of its achievements in the field of collectivization. Socialist property in agriculture has been abandoned by everybody, has been declared to have miscarried, and to be unable to cope with the demands of modern development. But now, decades after the start of the revisionist process, time has delivered a harsh verdict. Wherever solutions have been sought in the return to private property, difficulties in agricultural production have not only not abated, but have, on the contrary, multiplied and led to unavoidable social bitterness.

Our practice, in building socialism in the countryside, gives the lie to all the accusations that have been and are leveled against our cooperativist order. It shows that the reason for failures in agriculture is not to be found in the

[word indistinct] of Leninism in the time of Stalin, but in its revision and abandonment. The virtue of the party and Comrade Enver has been to see cooperativism as a broad, popular movement and a revolutionary achievement of the peasant masses to build a better and more prosperous life. They have brought the Leninist idea to life in a creative way, bearing in mind the specific conditions and traditions of our country. Therefore, in the struggle and labor for socialist construction in the countryside, the phase of the development of cooperativism has inaugurated a new and higher stage.

The road followed by the cooperativist order in Albania is strewn with innovative solutions. The transition from small collective enterprises to larger ones, the creation of higher-type cooperatives, the intertwining of collective with state property, the initiative to create small herds and grouped fields, and many other socioeconomic processes that have taken place in agriculture, constitute original solutions that have exerted a direct influence on increasing production and consolidating socialist relations in the countryside. They constitute a further valuable contribution to the theory of the socialist transformation of agriculture.

In all its work for the development of agriculture and the transformation of the countryside, the party has been led by the Marxist thesis, according to which agrarian policy is a social, class policy. It expresses relations between the working class and the peasantry, between town and countryside, between industry and agriculture, and between the duties of a class to society and vice versa, which altogether make up the foundation of the social and economic unity of the country. The justice of the party's policy in every field, but especially in its agrarian policy, can be seen clearly when conclusions drawn from comparisons refer to processes taking place over extended periods of time. These comparisons can be made, because cooperativism, as part of the essence of party and state policy, has been developing and blooming for more than 40 years, remaining always vigorous and fresh. [cheers]

We have a modern agriculture, relying upon modern science and technology. It is mechanized, and equipped with an irrigation system that extends throughout the nation's territory. It is an agriculture capable of securing high production and yields. Our agriculture is well organized, which accomplishes expanded reproduction on an ever-expanding scale. From one 5-year period to another, production has increased from 4 billion to 6 billion leks. In the last 20 years, income per hectare of arable land has increased by about 3,600 leks. Now, per head of population, agriculture yields 500 leks more than in 1965, even though the population is almost twice as large. For more than a decade now, all the people's bread, and about 85 percent of its food, is produced domestically. Our agriculture produces about 900 kilograms of production per head of population each year, in comparison with about 600 kilograms in the sixties. To the food and light industries alone, it supplies 1 million tons of raw materials every day, not including cereals. Although the work force in agriculture has increased during the last 2 decades by more than 300,000, the social yield of the work force has continually increased. The fact that about four times the amount has been invested in the development of productive forces in agriculture during the period between the last two cooperatives congresses as during the entire period from the beginning of collectivization until 1968 has exerted an influence on this.

These achievements are the fruit of the labor and sweat of the peasantry. They are results of the help of the socialist state and the care of the whole of society for agriculture. They testify to the strength and effectiveness of the cooperativist order, and of cooperative labor and property. [cheers]

A retrospective glance at the road we have followed shows that our collectivized agriculture has, for whole years and decades, has succeeded in achieving a radical turning point, not only in securing the people's food, but in socialist accumulation. Parts of industry and other branches of the economy have been financed by agriculture, and the overwhelming majority of the workers class itself has come from the countryside. This has closely tied our peasantry to labor, and has an advanced sense of collective identity and a feeling for progress, which it has maintained and developed with a high sense of responsibility. Of course, this is connected with the party's tireless labor for the ideopolitical development of our peasantry, but it is also connected with certain characteristic traits of the peasantry.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed several times, under the conditions of our historical development, the Albanian peasantry has closely tied the struggle for land with the struggle for national independence, and with the struggle for the progress of the entire country. Therefore, in the people's revolution and the socialist transformation of the country, it has been less burdened by the individualistic thinking and prejudices that inhibited small property owners. It is well-known that the peasantry was closely tied to the party in the National Liberation War, became the principal reservoir for the partisan army, and provided it with safe shelter. During the era of socialist construction also, the peasantry followed, and still follows faithfully, the party's road. [cheers]

Our cooperativist peasantry does not lag behind the workers class in responsibility in labor and a spirit of sacrifice. They are not merely allies, but worthy coworkers who have played and continue to play a decisive economic role in the thorough transformation of Albania. Since 1971, the net contribution of agriculture to society as a whole, including the production of cooperatives and state farms, has reached 1,020 billion leks.

During this period, about one-third of all state investments were covered solely by the invaluable accumulation reserves supplied by the agricultural cooperatives. These successes would have been in vain, if this increase in the contribution of agriculture to the people and the economy had not been accompanied by rising living standards for the peasantry and accumulation in the cooperatives. Imbalance in this relationship would have been dangerous, and with inevitable social consequences. Our party has not allowed any such thing. Life has proved that, before the incomes which agriculture gave to society increased, incomes per worker and per head of the country population increased. This has meant a continual growth of prosperity in the countryside, which has also become the basic criterion to assess the correctness of the policy pursued in relations between society and group property, and between the peasantry and the other working masses. The results of many years show that, in the final analysis, ever more net production remains in the cooperatives for consumption and accumulation, while, in absolute figures, the contribution of the cooperatives to the general benefit of the economy has not only not been affected, but has risen. If between 1966 and 1970 the cooperatives placed 25 percent of their net production at the disposal of the state, this proportion has gradually fallen and now amounts to about 12 percent.

There is no clearer way of expressing in the language of economic statistics how the gap between town and countryside has been narrowed. The aim of our party's line has been and remains to embody the political alliance between the two basic classes of society, the workers class and the cooperativist peasantry, in an economic alliance, and in a range of relationships and forms of cooperation of benefit to both.

Dear comrades, in analyzing experience and achievements, as we are doing at this congress, we find evidence and a synthesis of data, that confirm the vitality of the road we have followed. We mention them so that they may encourage us in labor and struggle to consolidate the cooperativist order, as a practice that stems from the practice of socialist construction. The development of our agriculture relies powerfully upon the vitality of cooperativism and the peasantry's patriotism.

Let us rely on these factors as strongly as possible in order to obtain as many agricultural and livestock products as possible, because the needs of the people and the demands of the economy are increasing. Under the present conditions of the country's development, the need emerges more acutely to intensify agricultural production, giving powerful impetus to increasing yields both in arable crops and livestock. The duty of securing the people's bread from domestic resources remains unchanged as our party's policy. Today, increasing cereal production is a primary demand facing agriculture, not only for bread, but for the needs of stockraising and industry.

The third AWP Central Committee plenum prescribed many tasks for food production. A true turning point must be achieved in the production of industrial crops, so that the normal functioning of the processing industry may be ensured, and imports may be supplemented. As for fruit growing, the opportunity exists of doubling and tripling production and yields within 5 years. The struggle for production must be waged inseparably from the struggle for the effective preservation and handling of products and increasing cost effectiveness. In this field, not only the working people of agriculture, but those of industry, trade, and transportation have major tasks.

In stockraising, the turning point that has been achieved must be consolidated and further pressed forward. The opportunities that have been created for cattle and small livestock give the possibility of expanding and increasing the basic herds, so that we may fulfill as fast as possible the task that has been set of solving conclusively the question of meeting the people's needs for milk, dairy products, and meat. In the concentrated herds, where the land is well stocked, there are possibilities of increasing production by mainly improving yields, while, as for the small herds, brigades themselves will decide how to fulfill better and more quickly their needs for animal products, through increasing the number of head, improving yields, or both at once.

For stockraising, both in the concentrated and the small herds, there is room for improving the structure of the stock. Science and advanced experience show that where one cow can be maintained, four or five sheep and goats can and must also be kept, without trespassing on each other. Increasing the number of head and their yields will lead everywhere to a better exploitation of grazing and pasturage, and the productive capacities of livestock. Increasing agricultural production requires an increase in the active labor of the peasantry and its better organization. It requires the contribution of science, especially in securing the seeds that will assure the high production that is appropriate to the country's ecological conditions. However, it also requires more powerful material and technical support. This support has not been denied to agriculture hitherto. However, it is necessary to intensify it, in accordance with the new imperatives we face.

For this purpose, the party has instructed state and planning authorities to pay greater attention to the needs of agriculture, for today and for the future, when they allocate investments and foreign currency resources. Faster progress is necessary in the renewal and improvement of agricultural machinery.

With the help of the chemical industry, the new plants that are being constructed for it, and the full use of existing productive capacity, the needs of an intensified agriculture for chemical fertilizer and silicates must be better met. Special care and great investments are and will be devoted to irrigation, with the aim of solving once and for all, according to scientific criteria, needs for

water and drainage. At the same time, measures are necessary to ensure the fuller use of reservoirs, because today they still contain about one-third of the available water. Under present conditions, possibilities have been created for industry to contribute more to agriculture and the countryside. Our plan is that its branches should increase their production for agriculture. Industry, with its sources of accumulation, will enable society to direct more material and financial resources for the intensification and expansion of agriculture in all zones, and to increase the pace with which the gap between town and countryside is narrowed.

The expected developments in agriculture in the years to come demand labor and investment, but these alone are not enough. Under all circumstances, and in agriculture also, the expansion and development of productive forces depends greatly upon the nature of relations in production. Therefore, as the people's discussion that preceded this congress stressed, further strengthening cooperativism and increasing the effectiveness of labor and the peasantry's creative initiative requires, alongside a stronger material and technical base, improvements and refinements in economic relations.

Relations in production, as we know, generally change more slowly than do productive forces. However, this must not be used as an excuse for narrowmindedness, apathy, and conservatism in the way they are viewed. Of course, there is no room for experimentation of any kind in production relations. There is no room for careless interference, without carefully considering everything beforehand, especially social and class aspects. Any haste or sign of dilettantism in this field would lead to undesirable social and political consequences. However, this caution must not be turned into fear, so that we become stuck in the mud. This would be to turn our backs on the imperatives life confronts us with in developing society, and [word indistinct]) would be hampered.

Cooperativists have stated their views on socialist relations in agriculture during the debate with maturity and in a party-minded spirit. They have suggested that a refinement of production relations should be extended not only to organization and management, but to planning methods, and to the remuneration of working people, in cooperation with the state and other economic bodies. It is the working masses who fulfill plans. It is they who are closest to production, and are the first to feel the need for change. Their voice must therefore be heeded. Increased production cannot be ensured without properly stimulating the energies of the masses, without encouraging the initiative of the base, without assigning greater competences to the cooperatives, and without combating signs of bureaucracy. For this reason, it is necessary to view with a critical eye a range of standardized factors and rules and methods that are out of date and now hamper the initiative of the agricultural cooperatives, and to correct some prejudices according to which the same procedures are used in group property as in state property.

Refining production relations must aim to reconcile different interests as well as possible, but the motivating power of the general interest must under no circumstances be left in second place, for, as the party has always emphasized, both the interests of the group and those of the individual must be considered. The principle source of the living standards of our people lies in their labor, and they do not demand remuneration they have not earned, but they are sensitive about what is due to them. In this connection, as was also stressed in the report that was delivered, improvements are needed in the system of remuneration for labor in the cooperatives, in order to stimulate increased agricultural and livestock production. It is a fact that in many cases, agricultural wages are paid for work not done, and there are also cases of unjustified [word indistinct] that are a result of shortcomings in supervision and in redistribution. The cooperativists' analyses and the proposals they have submitted to this congress to give remuneration in more correct proportion with the amount of production and to base remuneration more on the amount and quality of labor will encourage those who are ahead, and will avoid the possibility of those who are lagging behind profiting at their expense.

Meeting the people's needs for consumer goods as well as possible is a further powerful incentive. For this purpose, plots have been left for the use of cooperativists' families. Of course, the passage of time and the development of the cooperatives have brought changes here. In some places, plots do not exist at all; in others places they are limited and heading toward extinction. Under these conditions, on the initiative of the peasantry themselves, new and and more advanced forms of meeting the needs of cooperativists based on the property of the group, have been found, such as creating small herds and grouped fields in brigades.

Under the new statutes, brigades will in general be organized on a village basis, so that their small herds and grouped fields, assuming the function of a collective plot, will guarantee a solution to the question of the supply of the peasantry with animal products and vegetables. The party is convinced that it is necessary to further expand the competences of the cooperatives in the planning of the agricultural economy in order to stimulate increased production and the initiative of the cooperativist peasantry, and to use existing reserves better. They have now had many years of organizational experience, and are in a position to apply cooperativist democracy effectively. Meanwhile, the structures of agricultural production have been consolidated, and yields have been stabilized.

This creates the possibility of a more fruitful combination of centralism and initiative, not in expanding any authority which a state body now exerts, but in extending faster the application of an experiment that has been successfully carried out recently in the planning of agricultural and livestock production, mainly as regards delivery targets. Planning and the regulations governing

the trade of products must give cooperatives the opportunity of producing to earn higher incomes. From this point of view, it is in the interests of the peasantry, and of town-dwellers as well, for the cooperatives themselves to trade their agricultural and livestock products, and the products collected from the plot, at reasonable prices. Trade can and must assume a larger scale in close cooperation with the cooperative. Strengthening relations between the state and the cooperatives demand progress in deepening the differentiation of delivery prices, machinery and equipment prices, and service tariffs for hilly and mountainous areas. The aim is for economic levers to stimulate all forms of agricultural production in these areas, so that services approach the level of viability of agricultural and animal products.

The countryside has plenty of natural resources that are state property, and could be effectively exploited by the cooperatives. It would be beneficial for such resources as lakes and rivers for fishing, forests, and their products, limestone, and other building materials to be placed at the disposal of the economy to a larger extent, by signing contracts for sale to state enterprises. Cooperatives, with their funds, but with state credits as well, have the possibility of increasing their activities of an industrial and craft character. In this way, a true production complex will be created in the countryside, natural resources will be used better, and sources of income will be expanded, especially in areas with little land and severe climatic conditions.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed that agriculture must be an issue for everyone. This injunction of our unforgettable leader will always be at the center of the attention of the party and the people's state. Therefore, the socialist state will incessantly care for the economic and social needs of the countryside. Party organizations will intensify their work so that the party's policy is correctly applied everywhere for increased production and the progress of the socialist countryside. They will mobilize better the educational and cultural potential of the cooperatives. They will mobilize the mass organizations and the rural intelligentsia to put them in the van of the struggle for progress, science and technology, and in the van of the struggle for the spread of advanced experience.

Dear comrades, we are building our country, developing its economy, and perfecting its social relationships under difficult conditions, both internal and international. Of course, the progress of socialism in society depends on our labor, our willpower, and our creative abilities. In everything, we rely on our own resources, on our wealth, our sweat, and our brains. However, we are not isolated from the world; we live in it, and are a part of it. Therefore, what happens in the world, in one way or another, also influences us. It either assists or hampers our progress to a greater or lesser extent. This is the reason why our party and state follow the course of events in the world attentively, and take the necessary measures to protect the freedom and independence of the homeland, to ensure peaceful labor for our people, and to follow and apply a foreign a policy in accordance with the lofty interests of the nation, and to make our positive contribution to strengthening general peace and security. The situation in the world today looks very complex. It is not clear what directions that various trends that confront each other in violent opposition will assume. Nevertheless, there is no reason for pessimism here. We believe in the strength and willpower of the peoples for national freedom and independence, to oppose imperialism and all forms of social oppression, to eliminate war, and protect peace.

However, there is no reason to relax our vigilance. Although there is a lot of talk at present about a certain reduction of tension in the world, about a tendency of the great powers toward political wisdom, about their desire for peace, and so forth. Only if we believe that the policies of states are no longer determined by their social systems, and that their leaders are no longer the offspring of these systems, can we believe that we are on the threshold of a turning point in international relations in the direction of good understand and trust among allies and opponents. However, nothing can be judged by illusions. We cannot pin hopes for a future of peace and general security on the goodwill and common sense of Reagan and Gorbachev. Of course, Soviet - American relations and the rivalry and confrontation of the superpowers determine many aspects of the exacerbation or pacification of situations. Therefore, nobody wishes them to become further exacerbated. However, this does not mean that the peoples leave their destinies and the future of international relations in the hands of the United States and the Soviet Union and will wait for what they will decide.

Our view has been that other states and nations, whether large or small, cannot and must not accept their exclusion or removal from the formation of international relations, or abandon their inalienable rights and historical obligations to fight for and contribute to the peaceful regulation of the world. The union of their efforts, desires, and willpower must be decisive in reducing tensions and creating a true spirit of understanding and mutual trust among peoples. It is precisely this that must be the principal factor in not leaving room for the superpowers to realize their expansionist and hegemonistic aspirations.

Our party and our country have been and remain in favor of strengthening international peace and security. They have made, and continue to make, their contribution by means of an active and constructive policy, in the resolute opposition they bring to the aggressive and bellicose plans of imperialism, in their criticism and exposure of the treachery and opportunism of the revisionists, with their solidarity and internationalist support for revolutionary struggles for liberation, and in their defense of Marxism - Leninism.

Socialist Albania has been and remains in favor of good neighborliness with the countries surrounding it. It has made and continues to make efforts to create an atmosphere and conditions as favorable as possible to improve the situation in the Balkans, to overcome the obstacles standing in the way of the affirmation of its peoples, increased cooperation, and the strengthening of its security. The conference of foreign ministers of Balkan countries took an important step toward embarking on an encouraging dialogue among the Balkan countries. It showed that plenty of opportunities exist for good understanding and cooperation. The problems that at present hamper the normal development of Balkan relations were not broached, nor could they be broached at the start of a long road, but they are not insoluble. We went to the conference in a constructive spirit, and will work in this spirit in the future, too. We are aware that, historically, many problems have accumulated in the Balkans. Overcoming them, we believe, demands political wisdom, a clear view ahead, understanding of common interests, and an abandonment of old mentalities. The stability of the Balkans as a whole, and of each of its countries, must be maintained. Of course, it is primarily a duty of the Balkan countries themselves to work for this. However, this stability is for the general good. Proceeding from this criterion, socialist Albania is successfully developing relations of good neighborliness with Greece and Turkey, Bulgaria, and Romania and is making efforts to create such a positive atmosphere with Yugoslavia as well. The great difficulties that Yugoslavia is passing through are well known—a severe economic crisis, a confused political situation, and national conflicts. Of course, Albania has not caused such a situation. We have not interfered, and do not interfere in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. We are not inciting any upheavals there. We do not support any reactionary, anti-Yugoslav force. We are interested in the stability, independence, and freedom of this neighboring country. However, we cannot sit in silence and fail to denounce what is happening to the Albanians there. At present, on the pretexts of settling the Serbian issue and of struggling against so-called irredentism, there are demands for a restriction of the autonomy of Kosovo and all the Albanians, and of the rights guaranteed them by the Yugoslav Constitution. In other words, there are demands for steps backward, and for returning the Albanians to the conditions under which they lived during the time of Rankovic, with all its consequences. However, every demand for a move backwards constitutes brazen political and national discrimination against the Albanians. Such steps help neither the stability of Yugoslavia itself, nor peace and security in the Balkans, nor the efforts being made in Europe to strengthen trust and cooperation among different countries. Socialist Albania will always consistently follow its own policy of peace and neighborliness with all those who desire such relations with us. Determinedly following our socialist road, let us at the same time never forget the party's injunction to always follow and live close to events in the world, and to constantly sharpen our revolutionary vigilance as a strong shield of our freedom, independence, and socialist victories. [cheers]

Dear comrades, the party is confident that this congress will provide a powerful impetus to promote and strengthen cooperativism, and to enrich our socialist life. Next year is the year of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the liberation of the homeland. May it be a glorious jubilee, bringing even greater mobilization of the workers class and the cooperativist peasantry, of the intelligentsia and young people, and may it bring the fulfillment of tasks on all fronts. Let next year be a year of being on the offensive in labor, of mass actions and great achievements in industry and agriculture, in education and culture, and in strengthening the defense of the homeland.

Long live our cooperativist peasantry, distinguished fighters for socialist construction. Long live our heroic party. Glory to the life and work of Comrade Enver Hoxha. [cheers, applause, shouts of "Party of Labor"]

Congress Continues Proceedings

AU2311111888 Tirana ATA in English
0905 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Tirana, November 23 (ATA)—On November 22, before noon, the 6th Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives continued its proceedings in sections.

The section on the problems of the increase of agricultural and livestock production conducted its proceedings in the Opera and Ballet Theatre.

Attending were also the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee, Comrade Lenka Cuko; the member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee, Comrade Muho Asllani; the minister of agriculture, Themije Thomai; and other comrades following the contributions. The conclusions of the proceedings of this section were drawn by Comrade Muho Asllani, who said among others that by evaluating the growth of agricultural and livestock production, the contributions brought the spirit of debates that have taken place for the draft statute in every brigade and in every agricultural cooperative.

The tasks that lie before us are great but realisable. They rely on the advanced experience that we have achieved in every district and agricultural economy, in the ever greater aid that the other sectors of our economy render to agriculture, in the advanced scientific thinking and in the creative and mobilising force of the cooperativists, specialists and cadres of agriculture. The greeting Comrade Ramiz Alia addressed to this congress, Comrade Muho Asllani said in conclusion, opens up new horizons and raises the degree of mobilisation.

The section which conducted the proceedings in the hall of the Higher Institute of Fine Arts treated problems of further improvement of the organisation, management, planification and distribution to better support the augmentation of agricultural and livestock production.

Attending were the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee, Comrade Foto Cami; the member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee, Comrade Pali Miska; the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Vangjel Cerrava; members of the government, and others.

The conclusions were drawn by Comrade Vangjel Cerrava, who said among others that the contributions made on the plennary sittings and in this section indicated the great possibilities existing in our agriculture to further perfect the relations in production, so that they serve ever better the increase agricultural production and the well-being in the countryside. He emphasized that the ever better harmonisation of the interests of the individuals with the cooperative and of the later with the state should become urging factors to get more production. Comrade Vangjel Cerrava pointed out the valuable opinions expressed in the contributions with regard to the coordination of the cooperative - state interests, the more complete activisation on the part of the cooperatives of the natural riches within their territory.

In the Hall of Concerts of the Palace of Culture conducted its proceedings the section on the problems of supply, service, and sociocultural development of the countryside.

Besides the delegates, attending were invitees and leading cadres, specialists of the central institutions.

Attending were also the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee, Comrade Hajredin Celiku; the member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Manush Myftiu; and the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee, Comrade Qirjako Mihali.

The conclusions of the section's proceedings were drawn by Comrade Hajredin Celiku, who said among others that you devoted special attention to those problems pertaining to the increase of agricultural and livestock production and its support by all the other sectors of the economy, culture and the other state and social institutions in implementing the directive of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha that agriculture is a concern of all the people.

Important, he said in conclusion, is the fact that the tasks and objectives of this congress, the pledges you took and especially the very precious instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia, should be materialised in the every day work for the increase of production and consequently of the material and cultural wellbeing of the working masses.

The 6th sitting of the congress continues its proceedings.

Tanzanians' Arrival Noted

AU2011125388 Tirana ATA in English
0755 GMT 20 Nov 88

[Text] Tirana, November 20 (ATA)—At the invitation of the Ministry of Agriculture, a delegation of the Cooperatives' Union of Tanzania, headed by the general vice secretary of this union, Shehe Hamad Khamis [name as received], arrived in our country to participate in the proceedings of the Sixth Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives.

The delegation was received by the head of the Agricultural Section at the Executive Committee of Gjirokaster District, Nedin Rroqi, and other comrades.

FRG's Von Weizsaecker Continues Visit

Delivers Talk at Dinner

LD2111215688 Hamburg DPA in German 1510 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia (DPA)—Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker has warned of setbacks in understanding between East and West. Von Weizsaecker, the first FRG president to pay a state visit to Bulgaria, said Monday at a dinner given in his honor by Party and State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov that the process of rapprochement and of increasing mutual trust had to be irreversible.

The federal president said that the Western Europeans were proceeding along the path toward political union while the East, with its policies of openness (glasnost) and restructuring (perestroyka), was pressing toward new horizons. Thereby, the insight was taking hold everywhere that confrontation had to make way for cooperation.

After the decisive step forward made with the agreement of the elimination of all intermediate and shorter-range weapons, the urgent task now must be to stabilize conventional arms in all of Europe at a low level and to eliminate possibilities of surprise attacks.

The federal president called the CSCE Helsinki Final Act the most important European document, since it shows a way to a European system of peace in which all the peoples would find peace and the fulfillment of their most important rights. He also said he hoped that it would soon be possible to end the follow-up meeting of the European Security Conference in Vienna with a balanced final document.

Referring to the upcoming 40th anniversary of the passing of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, Von Weizsaecker said that reality unfortunately and on many occasions has not yet done justice to this "milestone in the history of human thought." The most recent report from Amnesty International was once again a distressing document from which it emerged that in many countries people were being tortured, mistreated, or oppressed for political reasons.

The federal president said: "The freedom of the individual guarantees peace. Human rights know no frontiers."

The federal president and his wife Marianne were cordially welcomed in Sofia Monday by state and party leadership. Directly after the military ceremony, Von Weizsaecker met for his first talks with Zhikov. Also taking part in the talks were Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his Bulgarian counterpart Peter Mladenov.

A considerable portion of the talks was dedicated to perestroyka, political restructuring, advocated by Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Friedbert Pflueger, the federal president's spokesman told the press afterward that Zhivkov had made clear his desire to implement perestroyka in Bulgaria, too. Opposing views were countered by Von Weizsaecker with the words that the Bulgarians "were not stonewalling and dragging their feet" over perestroyka.

After Pflueger's words, Zhivkov announced that the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee would set the legal framework for restructuring the country's economy at the beginning of December. The objective is decentralization and self-responsibility. Von Weizsaecker was impressed by the dynamism with which the Bulgarians are forcing on restructuring. He considered it a good prerequisite for economic cooperation. Von Weizsaecker stressed that there is an interdependence between opening up to the outside and restructuring inside.

Zhivkov also spoke very openly about the weaknesses in the Bulgarian economy. He stressed that the Federal Republic is Bulgaria's most important trading partner in the West and expressed the hope of German aid in restructuring the Bulgarian economy.

In the presence of the federal president, Genscher and Mladenov signed an agreement on establishing cultural institutes in each other's countries. He said that the agreement made clear the great interest that both governments apportioned to the further expansion of cultural relations. The foreign ministers also agreed on alleviating the need for obtaining visas between the two countries. The new regulations are to become effective 1 December and are particularly advantageous for the people taking part in the economic and cultural joint plans of the two countries.

Visits Pravets With Mladenov

AU2211151488 Sofia BTA in English 1407 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia, November 22 (BTA)—This morning Dr Richard von Weizsaecker, federal president of the FRG, and Mrs Von Weizsaecker visited the town of Pravets. They were accompanied by Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs.

The distinguished guest was cordially welcomed by the leaders of the municipality and the town. He then visited the Microprocessor Equipment Combined Works and was familiarized with the product line of this leading enterprise in the Bulgarian economy. The federal president commended highly the work of the staff and the dynamic growth of this Bulgarian economic branch.

On a sight-seeing tour around the town, Dr Richard von Weizsaecker and his party visited the Museum of History and the native house of State Council President Todor Zhivkov.

Later in the day, the FRG president is scheduled to meet Bulgarian intellectuals. At an induction ceremony at Sofia University he will receive a honorary doctor's degree. In the evening, he will attend a gala concert at the National Palace of Culture, after which Dr Richard von Weizsaecker will give a reception for Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council.

Awarded Honorary Degree

LD2211182788 Hamburg DPA in German 1536 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Sofia (DPA)—Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker was today awarded an honorary Doctorate of Law by the University of Sofia. During the acceptance at the Kliment Okhridski University, Weizsaecker said that he felt that the honor of being accepted into the company of the university was an "honor for my people." It is also an expression of the long-standing solidarity between Germans and Bulgarians. [passage omitted]

The Federal president acknowledged the increasing cultural rapprochement between Bulgaria and the Federal Republic. The agreement for the mutual establishment of cultural institutes is an especially welcome sign. The agreement was signed Monday. Von Weizsaecker was pleased to be able to announce that there would be an extra grant for a young member of the legal faculty of the University of Sofia. This grant will be awarded annually.

Weizsaecker said that he had experienced with gratitude the high regard in which the German language is held in Bulgaria. Almost 100,000 Bulgarians are currently learning German. This is an important contribution toward the better understanding of the cultures.

Previously, Weizsaecker had held talks with leading Bulgarian intellectuals, including scientists, artists, and journalists. Among them were the historian Vera Mutafdschwiewa, whose daughter, also an historian, committed suicide a few years ago, because following her studies in Vienna, here summa-cum-laude doctorate on a topic of Bulgarian history had aroused political annoyance in her country. Professor Angel Balevski, honorary president of the Academy of Sciences; poet and satirist Radoy Ralin; writer Yordan Radtshkov; screenplay author Angle Wagenstein; and artist Svetlin Rusev also participated in the talks with the Federal president. Lyuben Ganov, editor of the trade union newspaper TRUD, was also present.

In the morning, Von Weizsaecker had visited a microprocessor combine and the birthplace of Todor Zhivkov, the chairman of the party and the Council of State, in the town of Pravets. The helicopter trip to the Rile Monastery, which had been planned first of all, had to be cancelled because of unfavorable weather conditions.

More on Honorary Degree

AU2211202588 Sofia BTA in English 1930 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia, November 22 (BTA)—"I thank you with all my heart for inspiring us, the people who bear the political responsibility in Europe, [words indistinct] for your contribution to the advancement of the all-European goals," said Dr Richard von Weizsaecker, federal president of the FRG, in his address to the university circles attending the induction ceremony at which he was granted the title of Honorary Doctor of Law of the oldest higher education school in the country.

In his acceptance speech, Dr Richard von Weizsaecker pointed out the rich cultural traditions of the Bulgarian people. "The life work of Cyril and Methodius was the only one of its kind in the cultural history of Europe and it added new dimensions to its language and cultural life," he said. "Medieval Bulgaria is rightfully qualified as 'a stage of the spirit' and the humanist traditions of the country are manifested in a specific, unique way," Dr Richard von Weizsaecker underlined.

The ceremony was attended by Mr Georgi Yordanov, minister of culture, science, and education, distinguished Bulgarian scientists, members of the faculty and students of the Department of Law. Those present were informed about Dr Richard von Weizsaecker's activity as a statesman, public worker, and a scholar for the benefit of international peace, friendship, and cooperation between all peoples.

Prof. Minch Semov, rector of Sofia University, presented the parchment diploma and the honorary badge of the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia with a blue ribbon to the federal president of the FRG.

Today Dr Richard von Weizsaecker, federal president of the FRG, received in his residence [as received] scientific, arts, and cultural figures and had a discussion with them.

Tomorrow the federal president of the FRG will be visiting Veliko Turnovo and Varna.

Honored at Gala Concert

AU2211214288 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted covered by referent item] In Sofia this evening a gala concert was held in the People's Palace of Culture in the honor of Richard von Weizsaecker, federal president of the FRG, and his wife.

The concert was attended by State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov; Comrades Georgi Atanasov, Milko Balev, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, and Georgi Yordanov; deputy chairmen of the State Council and the National Assembly; and members of the State Council and the government.

Gives Reception for Zhivkov

AU2211214388 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgaria 2000 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] This evening Richard von Weizsaecker, federal president of the FRG, and his wife gave a reception in the People's Palace of Culture in the honor of State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov.

The reception was attended by Comrades Georgi Atanasov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, and Stoyan Markov; Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly; deputy chairmen of the State Council; members of the government; scientific, arts, and cultural figures; representatives of business circles; and the officials accompanying the federal president.

The reception took place in a friendly atmosphere.

Genscher Talks With Mladenov, Departs 22 Nov

AU2211151588 Sofia BTA in English 1441 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia, November 22 (BTA)—The ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, Mr Petur Mladenov, and of the FRG, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, held a session of talks here today to consider matters of bilateral concern. They paid particular attention to the promotion of East-West relations, which has recently made considerable progress. The two countries' chief diplomats stressed the importance of the CSCE process and, in this connection, they declared themselves in favour of an early completion of the Vienna Follow-up Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and of its producing a meaningful and balanced document. They also stressed the need for starting as soon as possible negotiations on arms and troop cuts in Europe so as to achieve a balance at a lower level of armaments sufficient for the defence of all countries concerned.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher also considered some regional problems and expressed satisfaction over the settlement of some of them.

They laid emphasis on the favourable promotion of bilateral relations, which will benefit from the current first visit by an FRG federal president to Bulgaria.

Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, federal vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of the FRG, who accompanied President Dr Richard von Weizsaecker, left the country today.

Dubcek's Reception by Pope Reported
AU2311115088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Nov 88 p 6

[Unattributed report in the "They Said, They Wrote" column]

[Text] Numerous West German, Italian, Polish, Hungarian, and Yugoslav newspapers have reported on Dubcek's reception by Pope John Paul II.

Jakes Addresses National Front Session
AU2211160188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Nov 88 p 2

["Speech by Comrade Milos Jakes," CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, at the session of the CSSR National Front Central Committee in Prague on 17 November: "The Citizens' Energetic, Committed Involvement in Management and Administration of the Society"]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, esteemed friends, at our present session we are to assess the realization of our intentions to activate the National Front and the organizations rallied in it, so as to enhance their involvement in the creation, implementation, and control of policy. At the same time we should adopt a stand on the current situation, and on the topical tasks confronting us in further providing for economic and social restructuring and for deepening socialist democracy.

Almost 10 months have passed since the joint session of the Central Committees of the National Front of the CSSR and the Czech and Slovak SR's. A number of significant events and changes have taken place in this period—both inside our own country and on an international scale. The CPCZ Central Committee held significant sessions, which represent an important step in the elaboration and implementation of the comprehensive program for restructuring our society. The conclusions of these sessions evoked interest and a broad echo among our public. They were fully endorsed by the entire National Front, by political parties and social and special interest organizations, which declared that they would take an active part in implementing the CPCZ's policy. This was also confirmed in the course of the National All-Trade Union Conference, at the congresses of social organizations, at sessions of the Central Committees of political parties, and during other important deliberations of the bodies and organizations of our National Front.

During this period we also recalled some significant historical anniversaries in our country's life. They included the 70th anniversary of the establishment of an independent common state of Czechs and Slovaks, but also the 50th anniversary of Munich—of the time when this state, betrayed by its Western allies and the domestic grand bourgeoisie, was left to the tender mercies of Hitlerite fascism. We recalled with justified pride the 40th anniversary of Victorious February 1948, which opened the road of socialist development for our fatherland in harmony with the will and vital interests of our people and with their mass support.

Despite the various problems, shortcomings, and mistakes, the work of building socialism has brought our people great results and achievements. Socialism has made it really possible to set up what is truly a state of the working people, to arrange relations between our fraternal nations and nationalities according to the Leninist understanding of the matter, and to reliably provide for the country's external security in firm friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

Our reverting to the modern landmarks of our development and to the legacy of our history is not a purpose in itself—they teach us a great historical lesson, we learn from them.

In our present effort to carry out deep revolutionary changes, so as to further strengthen socialism and improve the life for our people, we are developing all the positive achievements to date.

A few days ago we celebrated (together with the nations of the Soviet Union and all progressive mankind) the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Its ideals are reflected more than ever in the revolutionary feat of restructuring and democratization, in the course embarked upon by the CPSU and the Soviet people—a course which is a new and inspiring example and a source of knowledge and experience for us as well. We link our further course with a broad development of economic, scientific-technical, and ideological cooperation with the Soviet Union, in the interests of achieving a new quality of socialist development.

The legacy of Great October is also reflected in the Soviet Union's current offensive peace foreign policy; this policy is consistently aimed at fulfilling mankind's humanitarian desire for social progress and peace, at strengthening trust, security, and cooperation in the world. Together with the other socialist states, we fully support it. We are energetically helping to implement it through our own initiatives and extensive foreign-political contacts, as well as along the lines of our National Front and the political parties and organizations assembled in it.

Restructuring as the Prerequisite of Developing Socialism

We regard the consistent implementation of economic and social restructuring as the essential prerequisite of developing socialism at this stage, as the prerequisite of a better and fuller expression of its advantages. This is a revolutionary step, which also brings with it (as any great landmark in social advancement does) a number of difficulties and problems, which must be overcome by

joint effort, energetically, persistently, and purposefully. This is the only way to evade stagnating tendencies and to enable our country to recapture its place in the world—that place which belongs to it by virtue of its socioeconomic potential and democratic traditions, its high cultural and educational standards, and the diligence and skill of its people.

The primary task of our National Front is to unite the people (regardless of their political affiliation, nationality, and religious conviction) for common work, to develop their socialist patriotism and their international feelings, and to strengthen their healthy self-esteem, while simultaneously mobilizing all forces for an implacable treatment of shortcomings, disorder, and negative phenomena—of everything opposed to the values of socialism and hampering its progress.

The National Front is a well-proven platform for comprehensively asserting the interests and talents of every person wanting to build his fatherland on socialist principles. The National Front is open to everybody who honestly wants to give us a hand in our common work. It realistically provides a broad scope for implementing the socialist pluralism of views and interests, which we will continue to develop and support. We regard the citizens' energetic, committed involvement in the management and administration of the society for the sake of the further advancement of socialism as a firm foundation of deepening socialist democracy. This course represents the main orientation in improving our political system. It demands that we make better and more efficient use of all the possibilities offered by it, while simultaneously searching for new forms and ways of deepening democratism in the life of our society.

In harmony with the humane essence of the socialist system, the policy pursued by the Communist Party, the National Front, and the socialist state is primarily oriented toward comprehensively providing for human rights. We proceed in this on the basis of international accords. In line with the socialist concept of human rights, we understand them in the broadest sense, as a unity of political, civic, but also social, economic, and cultural rights. One of our next steps toward reinforcing the base for asserting our citizens' rights is the proposal to set up a Committee of the Czechoslovak Public For Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, submitted by the Central Committee Presidium of the National Front to our present session for consideration. The Forum of the Czechoslovak Public, organized on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the General Declaration of Human Rights and of the Day of Human Rights, could provide a suitable opportunity for founding the committee. We recommend that the CSSR National Front Central Committee should convene the forum together with the Czechoslovak United Nations Association in Prague in December 1988.

In the past period we proceeded to carry out significant measures, connected with the practical realization of economic and social restructuring. Several decisions were adopted in order to speed up this process, so that the new economic mechanism could start operating on 1 January 1990 (i.e., 1 year earlier than originally envisaged). The purpose of this is to speedily overcome the problems brought up by the transitory period, to stabilize the new structure of the enterprise sphere and of central agencies, as well as to go over to total economic accountability and financial autonomy.

Consistently Protecting the Interests of the Entire Society

The second stage of restructuring the production base and the central agencies on the basis of laws on state enterprises and cooperatives is currently under way; the state enterprises are being set up, and self-management bodies and directors are being elected. The CSSR Federal Assembly recently approved other important political-legal documents, too.

During the past few months we have had a public discussion on labor code amendments in this country, and the draft amendments were commented on by the broad strata of our working people. A significant role was played in this by the National Front organizations, and particularly by the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH), which accomplished very useful work in this respect. The draft of labor code amendments is currently being considered by the committees of deputies; in December it will be discussed by the Federal Assembly.

In the further course of our economic reform it is essential to make use of the accumulated positive experience—but also to avoid the shortcomings that have cropped up. The main thing is to see to the consistent implementation of the interests of our society as a whole, so that the restructuring process in the enterprise sphere and in the center will help to strikingly enhance the efficiency of our economy and to carry out the needed structural changes, while at the same time promoting an enterprising accomplishment of the present tasks of socioeconomic advancement and a responsible preparation of the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

The present results in fulfilling the state plan correspond neither to our needs nor to our possibilities. It is essential to mobilize all our energy to achieve a substantial improvement here. Both the implementation of the social program and the improvement of living standards depend on this. We all realize that it is impossible to distribute more than is produced, or to pay out wages not based on created values. Our primary effort must be focused on reducing the costs and increasing savings, as the basis of effective development both in capital construction and in the entire sphere of social consumption. Via a broad utilization of scientific and technical results, the road toward this leads to the acceleration of product

and technology innovations, a good organization of work, an increased responsibility on the part of management staff, and the correct orientation and utilization of the working people's initiative.

It is essential to speed up the practical implementation of the principles of financial autonomy and of the method of intra-enterprise and enterprise economic accountability, and to show greater courage in developing socialist entrepreneurship, while simultaneously cultivating truly honest, good-quality work and pride in trademark traditions and honor. We must fully revive economic thinking throughout our society, so that the people will come to realize the value of the production means with which they are working, and so that they will treat and handle them like true owners and managers.

Last week the Federal Assembly discussed the CSSR Government's program statement submitted by the premier, Comrade Adamec. The Central Committee Presidium of the CSSR National Front also devoted great attention to its preparation. The statement provides an answer to questions about the way our government wants to resolve the current burning problems in the people's lives, but also about the conceptual issues of our country's future development. We support the government's intentions to improve the quality of production and to resolutely progress in carrying out structural changes; applying the knowledge of scientific-technical development; reinforcing order, discipline, and thrift in workplaces; solving the problem of shortcomings in the supplier-consumer relations; implementing measures for stabilizing the domestic market; improving the people's transportation to their workplaces; eliminating the lag in housing construction; and also in solving other problems. The National Front organizations, particularly those operating in plants and communities, can significantly contribute to this. In this context, we greatly appreciate the initiative shown by the Central Trade Union Council (URO) at its recent session: to overfulfill the deliveries of commodities in great demand on the domestic market, where the problems are most concentrated.

It has been repeatedly stressed that the government is equipped with far-reaching powers and authority, which it should also use in the way our citizens justly expect of it. At the same time it must be said that the government would not be able to cope with the tasks so demandingly set for it were it not for the people's support. I would like to express the conviction that the entire National Front, as well as all political parties and social and special interest organizations, will grant the government political support (as was stated in the discussion of the government statement by the Central Committee Presidium of the National Front), above all by specifically helping to provide for the accomplishment of set tasks and by checking on the implementation of these provisions. The fulfillment of the government statement requires the active involvement of everybody. This applies, for instance, to medical care, where a lot can be done by the National Front and the organizations assembled in it—particularly by the Czechoslovak Red Cross, the ROH, the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association, the Socialist Youth Union, the Women's Union, and also other organizations. We do not doubt in the least that many things will have to be strikingly improved in medical care itself, and that the means set apart for its development will have to be handled far more effectively than to date. However, the citizens can achieve a great deal on their own, by their way of life and general life regimen, and by treating their own health responsibly. In this respect innovative medical work must be developed more effectively than to date.

Health care is inseparably linked with the solution of a number of ecological problems—a sphere where the conceptual solution naturally demands considerable investments. In harmony with the resources created, we have taken this into account. However, the environments can also be affected by campaigns carried out in rural areas and cities and in plants and cooperatives with the citizens' help. Meritorious work is being accomplished here by the Czech Union of Nature Protectors and the Slovak Union of Nature and Landscape Protectors. Through their Central Committees they have applied for admission to the National Front. In keeping with the principle of openness of the National Front, and after discussing the matter in the Central Committee Presidium of the CSSR National Front, I recommend granting admission, with the provision that the unions' specific involvement in National Front activities should be discussed by the Central Committee Presidiums of the National Front of the Czech and Slovak SRs. Naturally, the solution of ecological issues cannot be the sole concern of the unions of nature protectors. This is literally a nationwide task, the task of the entire National Front, of all state, economic, and social agencies and organizations. It is a task that also requires joining forces internationally.

Enhancing the Role of National Committees

In the interests of intensifying the people's involvement in the management and administration of local and society-wide affairs, certain important decisions were adopted for enhancing the role, independence, and responsibility of national committees, especially their primary links. The main thing is to make the national committees become (literally) the agencies of the government and of the people's power, and to enable them to make independent decisions on the development of communities and cities, with the active involvement of citizens and under broad public control. With this in mind, essential conditions are being created for extensively implementing self-management and for strengthening economic and financial autonomy in the activities of national committees. Great emphasis is being placed on enhancing the role and responsibility of deputies and national committee plenums and on consistent checks

on the activities of their executive bodies and apparatuses. These processes must also be supported by the activities of National Front agencies and organizations, so that the adopted principles can be consistently implemented in practice.

The election programs of the National Front are significant tools in its involvement in national committee work. They must also be the basis of the national committees' collaboration with enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions; they must be interlinked with the social programs of enterprises, in the interests of expediently merging all accessible resources and utilizing local reserves. We must take care to orient them toward solving the issues directly affecting the people's living conditions and standards in communities, housing settlements, and appropriate regional zones. We undoubtedly have a number of good examples here, but a great deal still remains to be done. Consistent care must also be devoted to handling more economically than to date all that was jointly built within the framework of the "Z" community embellishment campaign when fulfilling the election programs, and to making a more effective and coordinated use of these projects. In brief, we should cultivate a responsible and sensitive attitude to values created by human activities. Since all manifestations of vandalism stand in absolute contradiction to this, it is essential to proceed against them with the utmost vigor.

The process of economic and social restructuring is inseparably linked with changes in the people's way of thinking and acting. As we know, the 10th CPCZ Central Committee Session dealt with these issues, and set the tasks for developing ideological activity under current conditions. The purpose of these tasks is to improve the quality of ideological-upbringing and mass political work, to enhance the people's training, and to deepen their socialist awareness. Specifically, we are concerned with providing the people throughout our country with the correct understanding of the purpose of restructuring, of its links with the acceleration of socioeconomic advancement and the improvement of every citizen's living and working conditions.

In this context the most responsible task of our entire society is to see to the rearing and training of our young generation. Work on the youth law (which is being prepared) is also oriented toward this. It is necessary to establish conditions for asserting courage, an innovative spirit, and enthusiasm—features which are so typical for young people. However, at the same time we must stress that the young people themselves bear considerable responsibility for finding their place in society. In this respect it is also desirable to comprehensively develop and support the activities developed by the Socialist Youth Union and its Pioneer organization.

In ideological work it is necessary to react flexibly to the changes and new demands brought by social development. The main task here is to provide qualified explanations of measures which are currently being carried out, to generalize all good experience, and to help it spread. In the same way it is necessary to adopt a critical attitude toward all things that are hampering our progress, and to oppose all trends to weaken confidence in our revolutionary prospects, and confidence in our strength and ability to cope with problems and master the new tasks. Another task is to offensively ward off the hostile propaganda against socialism. Ideological work must be aimed at making people overcome certain incorrect, simplified notions about socialism and about its being able to develop without antagonisms and conflicts, and at correcting their ideas about its unlimited possibilities in the existing situation.

Against Egalitarianism, Indifference, and Parasitism

One of the extremely urgent demands is to push through the correct understanding and application of social justice and of the socialist principle "To everybody according to the quantity and quality of accomplished work." We still have a lot of inertia here, a deeply rooted egalitarian psychology and practices, which lead to mediocrity and undermine the people's enthusiasm and initiative, thus causing us great economic and moral losses.

It is necessary to be far more resolute in eliminating everything that generates indifference and enables parasitism and theft of property in socialist (but also in private) ownership. We still see a lot of tolerance in this respect. It is necessary to focus attention on consolidating order and discipline everywhere, on the basis of high civic responsibility.

All these issues provide the National Front organizations with a wide scope of activity. Regardless of their specific conditions, they can accomplish a great deal in this field. The thing is that each of these organizations should develop ideological-upbringing and mass political work and exert influence on its members in this direction, thus helping to create a healthy moral atmosphere in the society and to consolidate socialist values.

This makes it necessary to consistently carry out the intentions adopted at the joint session of the Central Committees of the National Front of the CSSR and the Czech and Slovak SRs in February 1988: to further stimulate the organizations and agencies of the National Front to greater activity. On the whole, it must be said that we are still at the very beginning here. We must devote constant attention to the demands to intensify democratic working methods. We must enhance the role, independence, and initiative of primary organizations in particular, and eliminate formalism and the excessive number of various sessions lacking in the necessary effect. All National Front agencies and their apparatuses must rid their activities of the tendency to set tasks by command. The National Front is not an institution—it rallies (on democratic principles) the political parties and social and special interest organizations which express the citizens' specific interests, and merges these interests with those of the society as a whole. It is

essential to establish conditions which are necessary for the work of National Front organizations and agencies, particularly by purposefully training able and responsible organizers, people with a natural authority and vested with the people's confidence, to head these organizations and agencies. We must see to it that not only Communists are raised into leading positions, but (increasingly) also trained, honorable citizens who are members of other political parties, and citizens without any party affiliation. It is necessary to reject as socially harmful any and all approaches which complicate the activities of National Front organizations and agencies, such as unjustified rent increases for the premises and buildings needed by them for their activities.

In unifying the people on a common socialist platform, it is most important to develop a broad flow of information to the public, and also control. It has been stressed time and again that the entire issue of supplying information to the public cannot be narrowed down to the activities of communications media alone—in fact, it is the primary duty of the leading staff and bodies on all levels, and thus also of all National Front organizations and agencies, to attend to the flow of information to the public. However, this does not merely cover information about statewide and international issues; it is also a matter of the people's being well-informed about events in the plants where they work, in places where they live, and in organizations of which they are members. It is precisely here that we have considerable reserves.

We should also mention another issue. The absolute majority of Czechoslovak citizens are proving their highly responsible, positive attitude toward the values of socialism, toward the accomplishment of tasks of socioeconomic advancement. This does not mean that they have no (justified) critical comments about a number of shortcomings and problems connected with our development. However, this stands in sharp contradiction to the attempts undertaken by certain groups, which are not so much concerned about our economic upsurge and the deepening of socialist democracy as about evoking tension and unrest in society, weakening order and discipline, and disrupting and hampering in this way the process of restructuring and democratization. For this purpose they have tried to misuse some of this year's anniversaries, particularly in Prague.

Our society has resolutely condemned the irresponsible behavior of these antisocialist forces, organized and supported from abroad. The National Front organizations have also adopted an unambiguous attitude, expressed in the draft statement on the development of socialist democracy and on adherence to socialist legality, which the Central Committee Presidium of the CSSR National Front is submitting (on the initiative of the URO and other organizations) to our present session. We are convinced that it expresses the will of the absolute majority of our people.

It is an appeal for honest, creative work for socialism, an appeal to fight anything and everything that could destabilize our society and disrupt its economic, political, and social reforms, or harm the interests and name of Socialist Czechoslovakia in the world. In this sense we fully endorse the appeal issued by the CSSR Federal Assembly last week, in which it called upon our state bodies, the National Front organizations and agencies, all state and cooperative organizations, and all citizens to be more consistent in insisting that socialist legality be adhered to in the present period of basic changes in our society, and to vigorously oppose all antisocial phenomena.

The CSSR is a state ruled by law, in which all laws apply (and must apply) to everybody without exception. As with any other sovereign state, we see to it that the freely elected social system, our political and economic system, is protected. The endeavors of certain forces in the West to meddle in our internal affairs, to influence the developments in our country, or even to tell us what we can or cannot do, are unacceptable to us—as they would be for any other free and independent country. They can merely weaken mutual trust among states, instead of strengthening it.

Preparation of the New CSSR Constitution

Work on the new CSSR constitution is an extremely important task in the coming period. The thing is to anchor in this basic law of the socialist state (on the basis of experience which has proved right in the past developments) the revolutionary changes brought by the economic and social restructuring process in our country. It is therefore desirable to assess the draft constitution with the broad participation of all our citizens. In line with the recommendation of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee Session, we propose to set up a joint CPCZ-CSSR National Front commission, which would prepare the draft of the new constitution. The Central Committee Presidium of the CSSR National Front has discussed the proposed structure of the commission and is now submitting it for your consideration and decision.

Certain cadre proposals have also been submitted to this session of the CSSR National Front Central Committee for approval.

The Central Committee Presidium of the CSSR National Front recommends releasing Comrade Josef Kempny (at his own request) from his office as deputy chairman, Central Committee Presidium member, and Central Committee member of the CSSR National Front in connection with the change in the office of Central Committee chairman of the Czech SR National Front. It also recommends releasing Comrade Jozef Lenart from these offices, in view of his changed party office.

We recommend releasing Comrade Tomas Travnicek (at his request) from his office as acting deputy chairman and Central Committee Presidium member of the CSSR National Front; he is about to retire. The Czechoslovak

Peace Committee Presidium will continue benefiting from his rich experience, and he will also remain Federal Assembly deputy and vice chairman of the World Peace Council.

Permit me to thank (also in your name, I am sure) Comrades Kempny, Lenart, and Travnicek for their work in the past period and for their significant contribution to the activities of our National Front.

We propose the election of Comrade Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, and chairman of the Central Committee of the Czech SR National Front; and Comrade Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party, and chairman of the Central Committee of the Slovak SR National Front, to the offices of deputy chairmen of the CSSR National Front Central Committee.

We recommend electing Comrade Rudolf Rohlicek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat, to the office of acting deputy chairman and member of the Central Committee Presidium of the CSSR National Front. He is an experienced party functionary and state figure. As you know, his last function was that of first deputy premier. He has prerequisites for successfully coping with the function for which he is being proposed.

We also recommend certain changes in the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front and its Central Election Commission.

As a union of workers, farmers, and the intelligentsia, of all strata of our working people, as the expression of the fraternal unity and cooperation of all nations and nationalities living in our state, the National Front plays an irreplaceable role in developing a broad social movement in support of the goals of restructuring and of accomplishing the tasks of socioeconomic advancement in our country.

The recommendation of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session to convene the 18th CPCZ Congress earlier than planned is of great significance for accelerating the process of restructuring and democratization. The deliberations at the congresses of the CPCZ (as our leading political force) have always had a vital impact on the development of our entire society. Preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress will undoubtedly open extensive possibilities for developing activity and initiative, and will further enhance the role of the National Front and all organizations rallied within it. The main thing will be to contribute toward formulating a realistic long-term program of our country's development, toward coping with the present urgent tasks and problems through enterprising and creative deeds.

The tasks confronting us are considerable, but we have the necessary prerequisites for coping with them. However, this demands everybody's high personal responsibility and honest, high-quality work in every sector, in the interests of improving the life of the people in our country and enhancing the contribution of Socialist Czechoslovakia to the struggle for progress and peace in the world. I am sure that every one of us will spare no efforts in this struggle.

'Order To Shoot' Rumor Called 'Propaganda'

LD2311113988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1056 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Regarding the horror story propaganda repeatedly haunting some FRG media about an order to shoot [at the FRG border], a responsible body called it deliberate libelling of the GDR. It must have penetrated even to Bonn that, as Defense Minister Heinz Kessler said, there is no such order. The opposite is the case. It is not in the GDR but, as the State Council chairman said in a press interview a considerable time ago, in the FRG that the Colts are loose in the holsters. There, shots are fired even though it is not yet known whether the person involved is the one on the wanted list. This is not only a case of double standards but of intent to foist on the GDR things that are part of everyday life in the FRG.

SED-SPD Working Group on Security Meets

Begins 8th Round 21 Nov

LD2111235688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1810 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The joint SED-SPD working group on security policy issues today began its eighth round of deliberations in Berlin. The working group continued its discussion on stability in Europe at the lowest possible level of arms and forces, as well as on the reduction of assymetries on both sides in Europe. Taking part in the discussion, which will be continued tomorrow, are:

From the SED side: Hermann Axen, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary; Dr Manfred Uschner, deputy department director at the SED Central Committee and secretary of the Politburo Central Committee Foreign Policy Commission; Prof Manfred Mueller, head of the Basic Principles Department at the Potsdam-Babelberg Institute for International Relations; Dr Guenter Hillmann, head of sector at the Foreign Affairs Ministry; and Karl-Heinz Wagner, employee of the SED Central Committee.

From the SPD side: Egon Bahr, chairman of the subcommittee for Disarmament and Arms Control in the German Bundestag and member of the SPD Presidium; Karsten D. Voigt, chairman of the Chemical Disarmament Working Group and head of the SPD group on the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee as well as a member of the SPD Executive; Erwin Horn, head of the SPD group on the Bundestag Defense Committee; Dr Hermann Scheer, head of the disarmament and arms control working group of the SPD Bundestag group and member of the SPD Party Council; and Wolfgang Wiemer, employee of the SPD Bundestag group.

Kessler Meets With SPD's Bahr

LD2211174588 Hamburg DPA in German 1641 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Egon Bahr, the SPD disarmament expert, and other Social Democrats were the first FRG politicians to have talks with GDR Defense Minister Heinz Kessler today. After the discussion, which lasted about 2 hours, Bahr said in East Berlin that he considers it necessary for a meeting between the defense ministers of the two German states to take place soon. He would have a few things to report to Federal Defense Minister Rupert Scholz (CDU). The two German states must adopt "quite individual tasks" regarding European stability and reducing conventional disarmament to a low level.

The meeting took place within the framework of the joint SPD-SED working group on questions of security policy. Kessler said at the end that the useful and fruitful talks were about how the German states can jointly contribute in the best way to ensuring peace and to reaching effective disarmament measures. He and Bahr agreed that the two sides must make an appropriate contribution, and that they will do so. This would "also be roughly the main direction of the discussion", that he hopes to have with Scholz.

Wants Talks With FRG Counterpart

LD2211211288 Hamburg DPA in German 1817 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—GDR Defense Minister Heinz Kessler, speaking in East Berlin today, stressed his hope for a meeting with Federal Defense Minister Rupert Scholz (CDU). Following a talk with the joint SPD-SED working group on security policy questions in Europe, Kessler told journalists that there should be a meeting with Scholz to discuss in what area of conventional disarmament the two sides could meet one another and what areas still needed time. "We are seriously ready for reductions," said Kessler, who is a member of the SED Politburo and therefore a member of the closest leadership circle.

The meeting with SPD disarmament expert Egon Bahr and other Social Democrats in a guest house in East Berlin was the first meeting between FRG politicians and a GDR defense minister. According to Kessler, the talks focussed on questions of conventional disarmament.

The "useful and fruitful" talk concerned what contribution the two German states can make to securing peace and for effective disarmament measures. This would "also be the main direction of the talks" he hopes to conduct with Scholz. The idea of an exchange of military attaches should also be discussed. [passage omitted]

Romania's Ceausescu Continues Official Visit

Honecker Speech at Award Ceremony

AU2111145988 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Nov 88 pp 1 and 3

["Comrade Erich Honecker's Speech" upon conferring to RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu the "Karl Marx" order, on his 70th birthday, during a ceremony held on 17 November in Berlin]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, esteemed comrades and friends: On the occasion of the working visit that you, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are paying to the GDR, I take great pleasure in presenting you—at the proposal of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and of the Presidium of the GDR Council of Ministers—with the highest GDR distinction, the "Karl Marx" order, which was conferred to you on your 70th birthday.

Through this award, we pay tribute to your contribution to continuously strengthening and developing friendship and cooperation between the the SED and the RCP and between our countries and peoples, linked in a fraternal unity.

At the same time, I again express my belief that these relations will continue to develop and expand, for the benefit of our people and in the interest of socialism and peace.

Both in your country and in ours great efforts are made to implement the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

On the occasion of my latest visit to Romania, I had the opportunity to learn about the fruitful and creative work that the Romanian people are carrying out to ensure socialist construction and about the firm and internationalist attitude with which the Romanian people solve their vital problems.

Presenting you with the "Karl Marx" order, we also pay tribute to your brilliant activity in the field of international cooperation and to your contribution to peaceful competition among social systems and to the establishment of a world free of nuclear weapons and free of other weapons of mass destruction.

Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the GDR Council of Ministers, and on my own behalf, we extend to you wishes for great successes in your activity at the helm of the RCP and of the Romanian state and in the implementation of the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress, and wishes for much good health and personal happiness! (loud applause)

Ceausescu Award Speech

AU2111145888 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Nov 88 pp 1, 3

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech" upon receiving the "Karl Marx" order, on his 70th birthday, presented to him by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, during a ceremony held in Berlin on 17 November]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Erich Honecker, esteemed comrades, and friends: I would like to express heartfelt thanks for the high "Karl Marx" order conferred on me today for the second time and for the words of appreciation for my activity for more than 55 years in the workers movements and in the struggle for the freedom, progress, and prosperity of the Romanian people and for the cause of socialism and peace, and as a sign of appreciation for my contribution to strengthening relations of peace and cooperation between our countries, parties, and people.

The fact that the order conferred on me today bears the name of the founder of scientific socialism is a symbol of solidarity between Romania and the GDR and between our parties.

By creatively applying the laws and general universal truths of dialectical and historical materialism to the conditions and realities prevailing in Romania, during the years of socialism, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, which opened up a period of great renewal in the history of our country, our party and people have obtained outstanding achievements in developing all socioeconomic branches, in the general development of our homeland, and in ensuring the well-being and happiness of our whole nation.

Likewise, as your comrades and friends, I would like to take this opportunity to express our great satisfaction with the outstanding achievements of your people, under the SED leadership, in the socialist development of the GDR, and I would like to extend to you warmest congratulations and wishes for new successes in the implementation of the 11th SED Congress!

The very complicated and contradictory international situation requires the continuous strengthening of cooperation between our countries, parties, and people in order to ensure the active participation in the struggle for peace and disarmament, for a new international order, and for socioeconomic progress throughout the world.

We believe that the relations between our countries, parties, and people—firmly based on the noble principles of socialism and communism—will continue to develop in the future, too, for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of the general cause of progress, cooperation, and peace in the world.

Once again, I express thanks for the high distinction conferred to me and in turn, I extend to you, dear Comrade Erich Honecker, to the communists, and to all the working people in the GDR, wishes for complete success in your whole activity devoted to socialist construction! (loud applause)

Ceausescu Dinner Toast

AU2111124688 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Nov 88 pp 1 and 3

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Toast" at an official dinner given by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, in his honor in Berlin on 17 November]

[Text] Dear Comrade Erich Honecker, dear comrades and friends: First of all, I would like to express warm thanks for the welcoming wishes, for the words of appreciation of the Romanian people, our party and state, and of my own activity, and for the hospitality that you extended to us.

In turn, I would like to convey, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Government, and on my own behalf, warm comradely greetings and best wishes to you, to the party and state leadership, and to all the friendly people in the German Democratic Republic.

Our current visit to your country is a new and eloquent expression of the traditional relations of close friendship and cooperation between our parties and peoples, founded solidly on the noble principles of socialism and communism. We value the high level of these relations and we express our wish that they develop steadily and become an increasingly stronger example of relations between friendly socialist countries which are actively cooperating in building the new system and in ensuring progress and peace throughout the world!

We believe that the meetings at the highest level and the talks we held have played and are playing a special role in the development of relations between our countries, parties, and people. I am convinced that our current visit will also mark an important moment in the overall development of our friendly relations. As a matter of fact, during the talks we held today, we were able to notice that there is a great potential to ensure a greater and more marked development of our cooperation in the political, economic, scientific, and technical fields as well as in the international arena.

Our party and people highly value the achievements of your industrious and skilled people, under the SED leadership, in the construction of a developed socialist society and in the implementation of the 11th SED Congress decisions. As your close friends, greatly mobilized by the same noble ideals, we sincerely rejoice in the successes you have obtained and we extend to you dear comrades, to the SED, and to you, personally, dear Comrade Erich Honecker, heartfelt wishes for ever greater successes in the socialist development of the German Democratic Republic!

As far as our country is concerned, during the years of socialist construction—particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, which opened up a period of great renewal in all areas—Romania has obtained outstanding successes in building the new system. Proceeding from the fact that socialism is being built under different conditions in different countries and firmly applying the principles and general laws of socialism to the concrete conditions prevailing in Romania, 20 years ago we started taking measures to perfect the organization and management of the economy and of all the sectors of our activity. Likewise, we have paid great attention to the development of the workers' revolutionary democracy and we created and perfected new democratic bodies to ensure the direct participation of our people in the management of our society and, thus, we implemented the scientific thesis of building socialism with the people and for the people. Today, our whole party and our whole nation is unflinchingly working to implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the Party National Conference regarding Romania's moving on, even during the current 5-year plan period, to a new, superior stage, that of the medium-developed socialist country.

We believe that the successes obtained by our countries and by all the socialist countries are proof that socialism has fully demonstrated its superiority over every other social system and that only the socialist path of development can really ensure the progress of society, can eliminate inequalities and people's humiliation, and can guarantee social equity, prosperity, and happiness for all people.

Esteemed Comrades, although recently some positive steps have been taken toward detente and disarmament, particularly with the signing of the Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States on the Elimination of Intermediate and Shorter-Range Missiles, the international situation continues to be extremely contradictory and complicated.

The fundamental problem of our times is to achieve disarmament—primarily nuclear disarmament—and to defend people's supreme right to life, peace, and to a free and dignified existence. We believe that everything must be done to achieve a Soviet-U.S. accord on the elimination of intermediate and shorter-range missiles and to conclude an agreement on reducing strategic nuclear weapons by 50 percent as soon as possible. Likewise, we advocate the achievement of a complex disarmament program, which should lead to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, to a halt of nuclear tests and the militarization of space, to the elimination of chemical weapons, and to a considerable reduction of conventional weapons.

In this respect, we believe that it is necessary to intensify the activity of our countries with a view to the practical implementation of the proposals submitted by the Warsaw Pact member states for conventional disarmament and for more active cooperation in the field of disarmament, including the simultaneous disbanding of the military blocks.

We work to strengthen security and cooperation in Europe and we support the successful conclusion of the Vienna Conference, in order to achieve a united Europe with different social systems and free and independent nations. Our country speaks out and is working to turn the Balkans into a region of peace, cooperation, and good-neighborliness, free of nuclear and chemical weapons and free of foreign military bases. Likewise, we support the initiatives of the governments of the GDR and CSSR for the creation of a nuclear-free corridor and a chemical weapon-free zone in central Europe.

Romania has militated and continues to militate constantly for finding solutions to all conflicts in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Central America, as well as in other parts of the world, exclusively by political means, through negotiations.

Taking into account the particularly serious world economic situation, our country believes that it is necessary to organize an international conference on questions of underdevelopment, including the very high foreign debt of developing countries, which should guarantee the progress of all states, primarily of those that are lagging behind.

Although the current international problems are very complicated and contradictory, we are convinced that, if all the progressive and realistic forces and the people everywhere work together they can bring about a turning point in the course of events, can bring about disarmament, and can ensure a new democratic policy of socio-economic progress, cooperation, and peace.

Romania is firmly determined to actively cooperate in the future,too, with the GDR and with the other socialist countries for the construction of the new system in our countries and for the general cause of socialism and peace in the world!

Bearing these things in mind, I would like to toast:

—the strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the SR of Romania and the GDR;

—close cooperation between our parties;

—the SED and its Central Committee;

—the good health of Comrade Erich Honecker;

—the good health of all of you;

—socialism, peace, cooperation throughout the world! (loud applause)

Honecker-Ceausescu Statement

LD1811205688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1834 GMT 18 Nov 88

["Joint Press Statement"—ADN headline]

[Text] [No placename as received] (ADN)—At the invitation of Erich Honecker SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, visited the GDR on 17 and 18 November 1988 for a working meeting.

Erich Honecker presented Nicolae Ceausescu with the "Karl Marx Order," which was awarded him to mark his 70th birthday, and for his contribution to the development of cooperation between the SED and the RCP, and between the GDR and the SR of Romania, and to strengthen friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

During his stay, Nicolae Ceausescu acquainted himself with GDR sucesses in shaping a developed socialist society. The important guest was received with cordial hospitality, which reflected the mutual regard and traditional solidarity between the two parties, states, and peoples.

The talks between the leading representatives of the two parties and states took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual trust.

Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu informed each other in detail about topical questions concerning socialist construction in the GDR and in the SR of Romania.

Erich Honecker gave details about the successful efforts made by GDR workers, under the leadership of the SED, for the further development of the advanced socialist society in the GDR. This development is a constant process of far-reaching political, economic, social, and cultural-intellectual transformation. The proven course, reaffirmed by the 11th party congress, of the unity of economic and social policy is directed toward doing everything for the well-being of the people. These demanding tasks will only be carried out on the foundation of highest productivity.

Erich Honecker referred to extensive intensification of production by means of the application and mastery of key technologies, primarily microelectronics. In accordance with its party program, the SED sees the main direction of the development of the socialist state power as lying in the broader development of socialist democracy, and in the more active and more responsible inclusion of all citizens in enterprises, the state, and society. In accordance with the principle "a stronger socialism, a safer peace," workers are making creative initiatives for preparations to the GDR's 40th anniversary.

Nicolae Ceausescu characterized the developments in Romania following the Ninth RCP Congress as far-reaching revolutionary changes. The party congress introduced a new stage of great innovations and performance in all social spheres in the application of the joint legalities of the construction of socialism in the existing conditions, while taking into account the latest achievements of modern science and technology. Nicolae Ceausescu noted the measures which have been undertaken for the organization and perfection of the financial and economic mechanisms of self-management and self-government, the constant strengthening of socialist property, and the creation of a comprehensive system of management bodies of the revolutionary workers' democracy in the implementation of the policy of the RCP in the formation of socialism with and for the people.

He explained the political and organizational measures being undertaken to realize the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress on the harmonious development of all branches of the national economy, particularly industry and agriculture, on the rational distribution of the productive forces throughout the country, ensuring ever-improving working and living conditions for all working people in towns and in the countryside, and on the realization of the strategic goal of the transition of Romania to a highter stage—that of a socialist country of intermediate development.

Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu discussed in detail the present state of and the prospects for bilateral relations. The leading representatives noted with satisfaction that relations are developing continuously in the spirit of the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty of 12 May 1972, and agreements reached at the highest level.

These relations are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism, full equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage and reciprocal comradely assistance, and of the responsibility to the working people of the individual countries and toward the general cause of socialism and of peace.

Both sides reaffirmed the leading role of the SED and the RCP in shaping the relations between the two countries.

The general secretaries stressed the usefulness of their broad and comradely exchange of opinions and experiences, which make it possible to use knowledge gained in the further formation of socialist society on both sides. The leading representatives of the two parties and states lauded the positive development of relations between the governments and parliaments, and the social and mass organizations of the two countries. The objective is to deepen and intensify these relations.

Touching on economic cooperation, Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu again stressed the importance of the long-term program for the development of economic and scientific-technological cooperation, and of specialization and cooperation in production, between the GDR and the SR of Romania until the year 2000, and the jointly agreed tasks for the implementation for the period until 1995 for the further expansion of economic and scientific-technological cooperation, specialization and co-operation in production, including research cooperation, and for the strengthening of the national economies of the two countries. The two sides agreed to concentrate in particular on key technologies such as microelectronics, computer and robot technology, and automated production lines in machine-tool construction and processing machinery construction, as well as in chemicals and petrochemicals, metallurgy, light industry, and in other fields of joint interest.

Trade is reaching a high level, which is experessed in the greater satisfaction of mutual economic needs for raw and other materials, machinery, and equipment, as well as in the increasing proportion of products from the spheres of specialization and cooperation.

Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu, in accordance with the potential of the two countries' national economies, aim to strive for a further deepening of economic and scientific-technological cooperation. In this connection, the parties to the talks stressed the great significance they attach to the coordination of the national economic plans for 1991-95.

They affirmed the two countries' determination to work for the development of multilateral economic, scientific and technological cooperation within the CEMA framework, in the spirit of the decisions made at the economic discussions at the highest level of the CEMA countries, and within the complex program of scientific and technical progress up to the year 2000, and the decisions of subsequent CEMA meetings.

Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu assessed the development of relations between the SR of Romania and the GDR in the fields of culture, science, education, health, tourism, sport, and other areas, and expressed their intention to deepen them with the aim of the two peoples improving relations and consolidating friendship. Events in 1989 connected with the days of culture will also serve this aim.

Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu conducted an extensive exchange of opinions on the development of the international situation, and concurred on the main questions concerning the international situation.

They stressed that despite all the complexity and contradictory nature of the situation in international relations. The conclusion of and the transition to the realization of the USSR-U.S. treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles is a first step on the path to nuclear

disarmament. Promising efforts have begun toward solving conflicts on the path of negotiation. However, a fundamental change to peace and security has not yet evolved. The international situation remains complicated and contradictory.

The GDR and the SR of Romania are in favor of intensifying efforts by all countries to avert the danger of war, to consolidate peace, and to strengthen trust and international cooperation.

The GDR and the SR of Romania will continue to do everything possible to make the emerging improvements irreversible. Both sides agreed that constructive political dialogue, and agreements which serve peace and the development of cooperation, which is advantageous for all, are of particular significance in this connection.

Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu assesed that a fundamental concern today is to end the arms race and to resolutely move toward disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. It is necessary to do everything possible to achieve new agreements and actions in the realization of a comprehensive disarmament program. The proposals made by the Warsaw Pact states form a good basis for this.

The leading representatives of the two parties and states regard the halving of strategic offensive weapons by the USSR and the United States, with strict adherence to the treaty on limitation of missile defense systems, as a current requirement in continuing the process of nuclear disarmament. They also noted that the formation of nuclear weapons-free corridors and zones in central Europe or in the Balkans, as is actively pursued by both states, would promote the process of regional nuclear disarmament as a preliminary step to far-reaching and more comprehensive steps. The two sides support the speediest possible inclusion of the tactical nuclear weapons remaining in Europe into the disarmament process, and the end to activity aimed at the militarization of space and nuclear weapons tests.

Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the necessity of reducing armed forces and conventional armaments, as well as military expenditure, and referred to the offers to this effect by the Warsaw Pact states. They expressed their expectation that negotiations on this would quickly start and be conducted constructively by all parties.

Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the importance of actions and initiatives to liberate Europe and the world from chemical weapons. In this connection they expressed mutual support for GDR efforts to set up a chemical-weapons-free zone and a nuclear-weapons-free corridor in central Europe, and for the proposals of the SED and the SPD concerning a zone of trust and security in this region, as well as for the initiatives and actions of the SR of Romania to transform the Balkans into a zone of peace and cooperation, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, and to hold a meeting of the Balkan states at the highest level. The GDR and the SR of Romania also support the creation of nuclear and chemical-weapons-free zones in other parts of the European continent and the world.

Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu affirmed the determination of both countries to work, on the basis of the conclusions of the Helsinki Final Act, for an improvement in the situation in Europe, and for a deepening of the political, economic, scientific, technological, and cultural cooperation between all European states. The need to increase efforts to conclude the Vienna meeting as rapidly as possible with a balanced and substantial document giving a new impetus to the process of all-European cooperation, was stressed.

The highest representatives of the two parties and states assessed that the solution of regional conflicts through negotiations on the political path accords with current needs, and represents a necessary contribution toward improving the international situation and securing peace.

In this connection both sides paid tribute to the role and contribution of the Nonaligned Movement in the constructive solution of international questions, and in the maintanance and strengthening of security and peace in the world.

Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu affirmed the need for a comprehensive solution to the problem of underdevelopment, and the creation of a new world economic order based on full equal rights for all states. The convening of an international conference within the framework of the United Nations, with the participation of all states, and each enjoying equal rights, would be a suitable step toward achieving mutually acceptable solutions, including those on questions of foreign debts.

The general secretaries stressed the need to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the communist and workers' parties in the struggle to solve the questions of mankind's destiny. Their cooperation must be based on the principals of total equality and independence, as well as on the right of every party to elaborate its strategy in accordance with national and international conditions. The resolve of the SED and the RCP to develop cooperation in this spirit with the socialist and social democrat parties, national liberation movements, and other progressive forces, was noted. The SED and the RCP signal their firm will to continue developing their relations of honest friendship and all-around cooperation to the benefit of peace, international security, and socialism. Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu expressed their satisfaction with the talks and their results. The visit underlined the striving of the SED and the RCP to deepen friendship and cooperation between the two peoples and states, and to strengthen their collaboration in the international arena.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, invited Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, for a friendly visit to the SR of Romania. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Ceausescu Greetings From Plane

AU2111125488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19-20 Nov 88 p 1

[ADN article: "Thanks for Hospitality"]

[Text] East Berlin—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of the SR of Romania, has sent the following telegram to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, from aboard his plane:

Upon leaving GDR territory, I would like to convey once more cordial thanks to you for the hospitality and kindness that were extended to us. I would like to express my firm conviction that the visit, the talks, and the agreements that have been reached will provide a fresh impetus to the relations and comprehensive cooperation between our two countries, parties, and peoples.

We wish the allied people of the GDR great new successes in implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress and in shaping the developed socialist society in your country.

DPRK Measures for Peace on Peninsula Supported

LD0911232688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1649 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The comprehensive measures on safeguarding peace on the Korean peninsula, which were proposed on 7 November 1988 at a joint meeting of the DPRK Central People's Committee, the DPRK Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly, and the DPRK Council of Ministers are supported by the GDR.

This was stated to ADN today Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, by a spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry.

These proposals from the DPRK, which include a stage-by-stage withdrawal of the U.S. nuclear weapons and armed forces in South Korea, and a step-by-step reduction of the armed forces of the DPRK and South Korea, are a renewed proof that the DPRK is following an active policy to lessen confrontation and tension on the Korean peninsula. This also serves to increase security in the Asiatic-Pacific area.

The GDR agrees with the DPRK that international tensions can only be reduced and peace lastingly guaranteed through the dialogue of all participant sides, through their readiness to accept compromise, and through a reduction in arms and armed forces.

Economic, Scientific Cooperation With DPRK

Vice Premier Arrives for Talks

SK1411130888 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 1300 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] On 8 November, our country's government delegation led by Vice Premier Kim Hwan, arrived in Berlin, the GDR capital.

Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR; (?vice minister of foreign trade); other functionaries concerned; and our country's ambassador to this country welcomed the delegation at the airport.

Meeting's Purpose Noted

AU1411092388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Consultative Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation between the GDR and the DPRK began its 11th meeting in Berlin on Wednesday [9 November]. The delegations are led by the chairmen of the two sections of the committee, Horst Soelle, GDR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, and Kim Hwan, DPRK Council of Ministers deputy chairman and minister of chemical industry.

The meeting is analyzing the results achieved in the economic and scientific-technological fields and discussing measures for the further implementation of the accords reached between Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, and Kim Il-song, Central Committee general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea, on the development and deepening of cooperation.

Cooperation Protocol Signed

LD1211131688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1630 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today's signing of a protocol marked the end of the 11th session of the consultative committee for economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the DPRK. It was signed by the chairmen of the two sections, Horst Soelle and Kim Hwan. The committee made a positive review of economic and scientific-technological cooperation. It was agreed that the development of direct relations between the central organs of the two countries and the expansion of contacts and the exchange of experience between combines and enterprises had achieved measurable economic results. The committee decided to develop cooperation, particularly in the fields of heavy engineeering, metallurgy, electrical engineering, electronics, and light industry.

Miklos Nemeth Recommended for Premiership

LD2311151988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] The Presidium of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front recommends Miklos Nemeth, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, as premier.

At the session today, party General Secretary Karoly Grosz the Central Committee's unanimously adopted personnel proposals. Rezso Nyers is proposed as minister of state.

In the debate of the People's Front Presidium, 15 stated their opinions. With three votes against and two abstentions, they agreed with the nomination of Miklos Nemeth.

The recommendation of Rezso Nyers as minister of state was supported with two abstentions.

The Patriotic People's Front National Council and the party Central Committee have sent the joint recommendation to the Presidential Council and the National Assembly.

MSZMP Central Committee Session Continues

Grosz Addresses Group

LD2211232088 Budapest MTI in English 2134 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 22 (MTI)—In the Tuesday session of the HSWP Central Committee, General Secretary Karoly Grosz commented on the proposal on the working order and work method of the Central Committee and the Political Committee, and the document related to the scope of tasks of the CC's working committees and apparatus. Mr Grosz pointed out that approval of the proposal and the implementation of the resolution were meant to increase the social influence of the party, so that the HSWP should be turned from an administrative party into a policy-making party. The HSWP general secretary stressed that the resolution would increase the role of the elected bodies, especially that of the Central Committee. The hope is that this will be accompanied by the expertise and better organized work of the apparatus. The CC is a forum for political decisions, while the Political Committee is a preparatory and executive organ of the Central Committee, Mr Grosz said.

The general secretary laid special emphasis on the relationship between the Central Committee and the National Assembly. It was raised in the preliminary debates that the Central Committee should closely cooperate with the Communist Communities working in parliament, namely in legislation, and the control of law enforcement and government. Mr Grosz pointed out that the government should be given a freer hand in discharging its tasks. The government should be supported although there might be partial issues on which the position of the Central Committee differs from the daily decision of the government.

Mr Grosz announced that the apparatus would be transformed in two stages: The departments will be reorganized by December 31, and their staff revised by March 31. At present, there are 249 members of political staff in the Central Committee. This is a result of a previous reduction of 10 per cent. The current staff can still be reduced by between 8 and 10 per cent. This central apparatus, compared with the practice of any other party, is particularly small, the general secretary said.

Karoly Grosz's comment was followed by a debate, and then the general secretary reacted to the contributions. He agreed with the concrete proposals that, between two congresses, only the Central Committee should be entitled to pass decisions affecting all party members, and to determine the topic of national party debates. Mr Grosz also supported the motion that the Political Committee should be obliged to inform the Central Committee of its work regularly, at least every six months.

Concerning the dilemma of a one-party or a multi-party system, Mr Grosz said:

We decided in the party conference that we were in favour of a one-party system. We have to represent this standpoint until the congress. At the same time, I dont think that we will, in the long run, work under a one-party system, but it should be discussed and decided upon by the congress. I will hold the position that we should advance towards a multi-party system. I dont think, however, that it will solve all our problems. The question whether one or more parties are operating is not a question of principles but a practical one. It is, however, a question of principles that socialism should work well, and if this requires more parties, then let there be more parties. In modern-day Hungary, social problems could perhaps be handled more efficiently if there were more parties.

Concerning the communist faction of Parliament, Mr Grosz emphasized that all parties maintain the right to nominate MPs [Ministers of Parliament], and expect their MP's to decide in favour of their policy. At the same time, MP's hands should not be tied on all issues, and it is also inconceivable that the CC would ask for the opinion of MP's on every single issue.

Concerning the transformation of the HSWP into a policy-making party, Mr Grosz stressed that the responsibility of government should not be taken over from the Council of Ministers. More freedom and responsibility should be granted to the state organs, for instance, in shaping their external relations. The Central Committee should only decide on the shaping of the party's relations, but ask the state leadership for regular reports on the foreign policy endeavours of the country.

Szuros, Major Hold News Conference

LD2211235088 Budapest MTI in English 2223 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 22 (MTI)—On Tuesday evening, Matyas Szuros, CC secretary, and Laszlo major, spokesman for the LC, informed the press on the session of the HSWP Central Committee.

Mr Szuros, who had presented a report on international affairs, pointed out that it was justified to deal with the situation of the socialist countries in detail because the processes taking place in these states and Hungary, namely the renewal of socialism and seeking for new ways, were similar. Hungary, he said, is not indifferent to the life and events of the neighbouring countries and their impact on its foreign policy and international relations. At the same time, we can draw some conclusions and lessons from these events. It is useful and necessary for our party to be aware of the concepts and plans of others.

The Central Committee discussed some issues that reflect two tendencies in Hungary's foreign policy. The first one is the strengthening [of] national character, which is neither nationalism nor a departure from internationalism, but means that we start from Hungarian endowments and national characteristics. The second tendency is the continuation of a foreign policy opening, for instance towards the pacific region, Israel and the Arab world. Determining our relationship with the independent Palestinian state is on the agenda. Mr Szuros said that some countries, for instance Cuba, had de Jure recognized the Palestinian state, while others, for instance the Soviet Union, recognized the fact, the proclamation of independent statehood. We will most probably consider these experiences, but I think the second is the feasible road.

The CC secretary said that the Central Committee could not elude discussing the act of provocation committed against a high-ranking diplomat of the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest. The Central Committee expressly condened the provocation that had been based on unfounded stories and charges. The session assured the government of its support: The government would most probably give a resolute and unambiguous answer to the Romanian step.

In reply to a question on filling the prime ministerial post, Mr Major said that, in keeping with the policy of alliances, the party makes recommendations to the Presidium of the Patriotic People's Front, and the name of the candidate can be made public only after that.

Concerning the transformation of the party apparatus, Mr Szuros pointed out that the party's activity should be adjusted to the new situation. It should become a more efficient, more policy-oriented and more democratic workers party. The task of the party and the state and their scopes of authority should be clearly separated.

Asked whether the number of CC secretaries and their tasks would be modified, Mr Major said that the reduced number of departments should not necessarily go together with changes in the number of secretaries, since new functions are also required. The CC, for instance, seeks to maintain active relations with the renewing legislation. So it needs a CC secretary who is well versed in public law. The idea of appointing a political secretary without portfolio, which has some traditions in the labour movement, has also been raised.

Concerning party relations, Mr Szuros said, it is a tradition that the HSWP develops wide-ranging relations with the socialist and social democratic parties. We strive to draw from their experience, for instance in work style and operation, and adapt it to Hungarian conditions.

In reply to a question on the future activity of Karoly Grosz, who is to leave his post as prime minister, Mr Major said that party life was expected to invigorate. Although the party conference elected Karoly Grosz general secretary with great confidence, he could not devote all his energy to party work, since governmental work required plenty of time and energy. He also felt that in this political situation when we would like to bring the HSWP into a competitive situation and a kind of political concurrence was emerging in Hungary, an efficient political party has to be made, and all party leaders have to concentrate their efforts on attaining this aim.

MTI Reports on MSZMP CC Session

LD2311002488 Budapest MTI in English 2202 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 22 (MTI)—As reported, the session of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee opened on Tuesday morning in Budapest. As the first event, HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz appreciated the importance of the Hungarian Party of Communists, formed 70 years ago on November 24, 1918. Following, Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee, held his report on international issues:

The 19th conference of the CPSU wished to provide, with the announcement of political reform, further encouragement of the processes which had begun. However, the mood of Soviet society can only be thus influenced in the longer term as the written document states which the Central Committee members received in advance. At the session of the CPSU Central Committee at the end of September and the session of the Supreme Soviet in early October, it was decided to accelerate the first measures of political reforms and to strengthen the conditions of the reform line. In this spirit, significant regroupings were carried out within the party and the state leadership. The priority tasks are to raise the living standard, and improve supply. According to the HSWP Central Committee document, the Soviet party holds it possible to solve the national-minority

problems in the framework of a comprehensive social and economic reform, by accelerating the development of the individual republics, and by eliminating bureaucratic centralism.

Discussing the current situation in Poland, and outlining the efforts of the Polish United Workers' Party, the document notes that the consequences of the erroneous economic policy of the preceeding decades have not yet been successfully eliminated, and that the decline of the living standard fundamentally influences the general mood. The reason, and also the consequence of the protracted crisis is that national reconciliation and the conciliation of power and society has not been realized since 1981. According to the document, the new Rakowski government, striving for the sincere exploration of the situation, is ready to consistently implement economic restructuring, accepting the accompanying conflicts.

According to the document submitted to the Central Committee, the conditions have come about to finalize the text of the closing document of the Vienna follow-up meeting. Open issues include the number and venue of the follow-up programmes, and although the definition of the relation between conventional disarmament and the confidence-strengthening talks issue is still pending, the conference can still be concluded this year.

Following the document gives a review of several major events in the activity of Hungarian foreign policy, then notes that in the spirit of the new foreign political guideline, the Soviet Union is encouraging the independent acceptance of international roles by its allies, and their activity. A part of these series of initiatives is the increased Hungarian activity in the field of European conventional arms restriction, a part of which is the proposal of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Finnish Social Democratic Party and the Italian Socialist Party, which encourages the cooperation of the European countries that do not possess nuclear means, to promote disarmament, and in the interest of freeing the continent of nuclear weapons. As the Hungarian and the Soviet positions coincide in this field, the issue of troop withdrawals from Hungary continues to be on the agenda, with thorough consideration, in the context of the European processes.

Concerning the Romanian provocation against the commercial counsellor of the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest, Matyas Szuros recalled that the Hungarian press reported on the serious act of provocation committed on November 14 against the Hungarian diplomat, who was expelled from Romania on November 19, on the basis of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry communique forwarded to MTI, and the AGERPRESS statement.

"The facts and even the Romanian manifestations unmistakably point to a premeditated police action serving a definite political aim and bringing new elements of tension into Hungarian-Romanian relations," Matyas Szuros said. After the closure of the Cluj-Napoca consulate the Romanian party repeatedly moved in violation of international law. The competent central authorities made an attempt to settle the affair, according to Hungary's well-known position of principle. At the same time with the announcement of the official protest, we wanted to give the Romanian party a chance to withdraw a measure detrimental to relations. As the foreign missions are carrying out their responsibilities in keeping with the valid international accords and norms, we had no reason to conceal facts from the public."

Finally, Matyas Szuros pointed out that the government is keeping the issue on the agenda and will take necessary counter-measures.

In the debate on the first point of the agenda, several contributors stressed the importance of improving the cooperation of socialist countries in the present situation. In this context, Defence Minister Ferenc Karpati spoke of the further development of political, economic and military cooperation between the Warsaw Treaty members. Joint action by the member countries," he said, "is an important factor in the European disarmament process, where the socialist countries are showing sincere readiness to reduce conventional armed forces and armaments, and bring the relevant talks to success.

Several contributors condemned the Romanian provocation against the commercial counsellor of the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest. Rezso Nyers proposed the Central Committee should also denounce the act and support the government in formulating appropriate statements and taking necessary measures. The proposal met with agreement.

Following the summary of Matyas Szuros, the Central Committee approved the measure unanimously.

The second point on the agenda was the proposal concerning the working order and method of the Central and Political Committees, and the sphere of activity of the CC working committees, working communities and apparatus. The written report forwarded beforehand to CC members states that the body was to concentrate primarily on defining its political strategy. The Central Copmmittee expects the various social organizations and movements to help shape policy through representative work.

Between two congresses and national party conferences, the Central Committee acts as the supreme HSWP body of political decision-making, direction and control. After a decision is passed, the minority should also represent the body's position, but they will have the right repeatedly to voice counter-opinions at CC sessions and initiate resumption of the issue.

Using publicity, the Central Committee takes a stand against attitudes alien to socialist principles, subjectivism, corruption and abuses of power, and the infringers are called to account.

The proposal threats at length the question of updating Central Committee apparatus. Accordingly, the present eight departments will be replaced by six: the office of the Central Committee, the Social Policy Department in charge of political cooperation with social organizations, mass movements and associations, information and press policy, the Party Policy Department, the Department of Economic and Social Welfare Policy, the Department of International Party Relations and the Department of Management. Working groups are to be set up to assist the HSWP president, general secretary and the CC secretaries in carrying out their responsibilities.

On Tuesday, the HSWP Central Committee unanimously approved the proposal on the working order and work method of the Central Committee and the Political Committee, the document on the scope of tasks of the CC's working committees and apparatus, Karoly Grosz' speech, and his replies to what had been raised in the debate.

There were thirteen contributors to the debate over this item on the agenda.

The Central Committee decided, in a separate vote (with 15 votes against and four abstentions), that at its next session it would formulate its position on 4 or 5 issues concerning society and the party members. The CC members also voted in favour of maintaining the current system of information about the CC sessions.

According to the approved agenda, CC Secretary Gyorgy Fejti commented on the written proposal for the bill on national and local referenda and plebiscites.

As reported earlier, on Tuesday the session of the HSWP Central Committee discussed a proposal for the principles of the law on national and local referenda and plebiscites. The related written document states that the need for drafting a law on national and local referenda and plebiscites was declared by the Political Committee in 1987 and the HSWP National Conference last May. This law will increase the democratic features of the system of political institutions, and complement the forms of representative and direct democracy with further guarantees. Referenda and plebiscites may serve as a framework for expressing and confronting different interests, in case of issues of utmost importance, citizens will have a direct opportunity to express their opinion and pass a decision.

The law may take the following forms:

A. Referenda are held to reconfirm or reject decisions passed by Parliament or the local councils. Depending on their outcome, the law or council decree takes effect and can be promulgated or shoud be regarded as if had not been passed at all. Referenda can be held on laws of utmost importance or on significant council decrees.

B. Plebiscites are held to determine the content of, or act as a substitute for, the planned decisions of Parliament and the local councils. If the plebiscite is aimed at passing a law, its outcome is binding on Parliament and the local councils.

C. Consultative plebiscites are held to prepare decisions and express opinions. The outcome is not binding on the organs of people's representation, and their decision might differ. In this case, the plebiscite is actually on institutionalized social debate.

The preliminary consultations supported the idea that the plebiscite should be the main form and consultative plebiscites should be held mainly at local level. The Political Committee should declare plebiscites to be the main form at both national and local level.

Referenda and plebiscites can be held at national, county (capital) and local levels. National referenda and plebiscites may be held on issues of national importance, directly affecting the population and usually coming under the authority of the national assembly.

County (capital) and local referenda and plebiscites may be held in issues falling under the authority of the council, and affecting the population of the county (capital), the settlement or the part concerned.

The Political Committee proposes to consider the following options:

- The bill should list neither the obligatory cases of referenda and plebiscites nor the issues excluded from them.

- The bill should list the obligatory cases (for instance, approval of the constitution or its main principles, detachment from the common village council), and those issues excluded (for instance, budgetary issues and taxation).

- The bill should only list those issues excluded (for instance, budgetary issues and taxation issues).

In his comment on the written proposal, Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the Central Committee, pointed out that the Political Committee, considering the internationally established forms of referenda and plebiscites, had proposed that the main form to be applied in Hungary should be the plebiscite, but the law should also allow the other two forms (referendum, consultative plebiscite).

The question had been raised, Mr Fejti said, how large a majority of votes would be required for a decision to be binding. The best solution would appear to be that a decision is binding if the turnout at the poll is larger than two-thirds of eligible voters, whether they vote in favour of or against the proposal.

The Central Committee unanimously approved the written proposal for the bill on national and local referenda and plebiscites, and Gyorgy Fejti's comment.

On Tuesday, the HSWP CC session approved a proposal presented by Janos Lukacs for modifying some issues concerning the payment of membership dues, and decided on the CC's work plan for next year.

Finally, the Central Committee approved recommendations for filling various state posts.

A communique will be published on the session.

Assembly Committee Discusses Taxation

LD2211114588 Budapest MTI in English 1313 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 22, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—It will be necessary to reduce real wages by between 6 and 7 per cent next year, and therefore, it is impossible to ease tax burdens, said Deputy Minister of Finance Laszlo Bekesi, addressing a parliament ad hoc committee on taxation, today. He added, in case income taxes were reduced, corporate taxes should be raised.

Minister for Finance Miklos Villaniy said tax burdens could be lessened only if the process of withdrawing support from state companies were to be accelerated. He said people should not be encouraged to up their incomes by lower taxes but by higher pay for higher outputs.

The head of the parliamentary committee and HSWP Political Committee member Mr Rezso Nyers stated the tax burdens of individuals should not increase next year, as taxes already swallow 11.7 per cent of taxable incomes. Social security dues absorb another 10 per cent.

Last year the budget drained away 70 per cent of company profits, this year the percentage dropped to 60. Half of all Hungarian companies could increase profits by 50 percent this year.

Under the present tax system, if maintained for next year, only 50 per cent of company profits would flow to the budget and this would bloat the current deficit of 18 billion forints (USD 333 million) to 60-65 billion (USD 1.16 billion).

The government is therefore intent on keeping corporate tax at 60 per cent. The players in the economic game are therefore confronted with a no-win alternative: Either companies or individuals will be under squeezed and in the end neither can escape.

The MPS discussed a ministry of finance proposal on the readjustment of the personal income tax system, a move justified by an increase in nominal incomes.

The idea behind the changes is that taxes should not increase as a consequence of a rise in incomes.

The government has put forward a motion containing two alternative tables, both of them raising the limit of untaxable incomes from 48,000 to 55,000 forints, while the highest tax bracket is to be lowered to 54 per cent and in the other version to 58 per cent, instead of the present 60 per cent. (The highest tax bracket is valid for incomes exceeding 600,000 forints - USD 11,100. This is six or more times higher than the average monthly salary).

The taxes for incomes under 400,000 forints (USD 7,400) a year are also expected to go down considerably.

The Ministry of Finance fears all these tax amendments might slash budget incomes by 11 billion forints (U.S.D. 203 million), so companies will have to be taxed more heavily.

Grosz Delivers Toast at Paris Dinner

AU2211143888 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Nov 88 p 3

[Toast by MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz at a festive dinner given in his honor by French Premier Michel Rocard at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris on 17 November: "Karoly Grosz: New Interest Relations in Europe"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Prime Minister!
Ladies and Gentlemen!
I express my heartfelt thanks, Mr Prime Minister, for the opportunity to meet you. I would like to make use of this opportunity to say that, together with my entourage, we highly appreciate the cordial reception, the rich program, and the substantial and advancing talks held with President Mitterrand and with the prime minister today.

This is not my first visit to your beautiful capital, and, as before, I have come with pleasure this time too, because, as Victor Hugo writes, "the air of Paris preserves the soul." As you well know, Hungary feels sympathy and friendship toward France. Based on this almost 1,000-year-old sympathy and friendship, we expect of our current visit that it will give an impetus to concrete areas of our cooperation.

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister!
Ladies and Gentlemen!

I am aware of the fact that the interest manifested in France toward the changes under way in Hungary, changes that can justifiably be called historic, has helped to facilitate my current visit.

The changes currently under way in Hungary are connected with the fact that a period of our history has definitely come to an end. We have exhausted all the opportunities of political and economic development provided by the previous framework of socialism. On the basis of the achievements and experiences of past decades, the only feasible way of solving our accumulated problems is by carrying out a comprehensive renewal of our political and economic system and by implementing the reform process. Our political will to achieve this goal remains firm and we are confident that this could provide the basis for a new national consensus.

The primary goal of our political reforms is to create a democratic and socialist constitutional state which provides appropriate conditions for the free development of the people's readiness to create, which is essential for implementing our economic goals. To this effect, we have started to reconstruct our entire public law, and we have set ourselves the goal of amending the Constitution and the electoral law, and of working out a series of laws to extend citizens' rights.

The economic reform process is aimed at developing conditions that will guarantee the efficient operation of state, cooperative, and private property and of foreign capital, which will enable the Hungarian economy to catch up with the vanguard of world economy.

In a recent article published in LE MONDE, you, Mr Prime Minister, stressed the fact that "coordination of economic and social policies is a requirement that no modern nation can avoid." In this respect too, we view with interest the elements of the French practice which we can also apply, particularly ways of solving the social policy problems that accompany restructuring.

In order to implement its program of stabilization and development, the Hungarian Government is paying particular attention to the discovery of foreign resources deriving from international cooperation. We count on the fact that our measures aimed at improving the legal and economic conditions of our cooperation will also raise the interest of French capital in investment opportunities in Hungary. We see that our intentions coincide with the newly declared French foreign economic goals. Hungary is open to business contacts. We are ready to create new and modern forms of cooperation, all the more so because failing to advance in the economic area could hinder the development of our cooperation in other areas too.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

In an interview given in the spring of this year, President Mitterrand spoke about the year 1992 and said that "we will have to play out a huge game within 5 years which will determine the power relations prevailing in the next century." For our part, by slightly modifying Mr Mitterrand's words, we profess that "Hungary is our homeland and Europe is our future." We want to strengthen Hungarian-French cooperation in the future also for the benefit of Europe. New types of interest relations and similarities of interest are emerging in Europe which differ from the previous, traditional concepts. The Eastern and Western sides of Europe can no longer be interested in the failures and crises of the other side, only in joint development.

We have quite similar positions concerning ways to eliminate the division of our continent and to develop all-European cooperation. We are jointly responsible for the future of Europe. Only a united Europe can successfully answer the challenges coming from other continents. We feel that the French foreign minister's concept on the direction an all-European cooperation should take is a sound basis for such unity. We welcome the proposals made by President Mitterrand at the UN General Assembly session which are close to the similar initiatives made by our alliance. We are following with interest the new East-European emphases in French foreign policy and we support this opening by making use of the opportunities inherent in Hungarian-French cooperation.

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Favorable processes have emerged in international relations in recent years. It is promising that the dialogue in the Soviet-U.S. relations, which are extremely important for peace and security in the world, has become continuous, and that one can notice readiness on both sides to settle controversial international issues by political means, to avoid conflicts, and to develop a mutually advantageous cooperation.

The first, historically-important building blocks of the new style of East-West relations are already in place. These building blocks include the four Soviet-U.S. summits, the INF Treaty, and the joint efforts of the two big powers to settle local crises with the active participation of the United Nations. We should further build on these pillars.

The issue of reducing the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe has come to the fore recently. Simultaneously with the CSCE follow-up conference in Vienna, the 23 states belonging to the two military alliances have come close to working out the mandate of future negotiations on conventional disarmament. We hope that genuine talks will be able to commence as early as this year.

Hungary is directly interested in taking part already in the first phase of this arms reduction process. Of course, the reduction of Hungarian armed forces and their arms and the withdrawal of Soviet military forces stationed in Hungary cannot be unilateral steps, but should take place in the framework of a balanced process of disarmament in Europe.

Due to its situation, Hungary attributes particular importance to the process of security and cooperation in Europe. The Hungarian foreign policy activity aims at bringing about agreements at the Vienna follow-up meeting which will contribute to the soonest possible implementation of the principles and proposals of the Helsinki final document.

We also consider it to be an important requirement that the natural strengthening of the processes of integration should not increase the division of Europe, but should create better conditions for strengthening all-European cooperation. Therefore, we are building our contacts with the European communities, the European Parliament, and with the Council of Europe. We hope that the agreement recently signed with the EEC—which was also facilitated by France's readiness for cooperation—will encourage Hungary's relations with all EEC member states, including the Hungarian-French cooperation.

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister!
Ladies and Gentlemen!
I hope our talks during my current visit will creatively contribute to the dynamic development of Hungarian-French relations, setting an example for confidential relations and mutual cooperation advantages between countries of different social systems.

I raise my glass in the spirit of these thoughts, to the health of the prime minister and our French friends here, to the friendship and prosperity of the Hungarian and French peoples, and to peace!

Declaration of Palestinian State Viewed

AU2211090588 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Nov 88 p 2

[Article by Laszlo L. Lengyel: "The Palestinian Decision"]

[Text] Without exaggeration, we can call the recent meeting of the Palestinian National Council [PNC] which ended at dawn on 15 November a meeting of historical importance. The meeting's decisions are fundamental changes from the previous stand on two decisive issues. First, an independent Palestinian state was declared at this meeting, including the territory of this state: the West Bank and Gaza Strip currently occupied by Israel, and its capital, Jerusalem. A general demand for self-determination and for the establishment of an independent state has always been on the agenda of the Palestinian movement. The PLO Charter adopted in 1964 also stipulates the establishment of an independent state as a final goal, without concrete territorial delimitations, "on Palestinian Arab territories to be liberated from oppression." The PLO Charter guarantees the sovereign rights of the neighboring Arab countries, and, since the West Bank still belonged to the Kingdom of Jordan at that time and Gaza belonged to Egypt, the above obscure formulation essentially meant the Arab-populated areas of the State of Israel. (This is also underlined by the fact that the document in question urges the establishment of a democratic Palestinian state which includes both Arabs and Jews.) Thus, considering the situation that emerged after 1967—namely the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza by Israel—and recent events—primarily the effects of the Palestinian revolt in the occupied territories—the recent PNC decision deviates from the Charter and concretely determines the borders of the future Palestinian state.

The other decisive momentum of the meeting was that, in its political declaration, the PNC accepted the UN decisions on the area—both the decisions on Palestinians' self-determination and the Security Council Resolutions No 242 and 338 which declare the right of the State of Israel to exist—as the basis for negotiations in the framework of an international Middle East peace conference. The greatest debate at the meeting emerged on this very issue because several delegates opposed the acceptance of UN Resolution No 242 which treats the Palestinian problem as a refugee problem only. Finally, the PNC adopted the political declaration on this issue by a great majority, but not unanimously. However, this can still be called an epoch-making decision because, for the first time in its history, the Palestinian movement has indirectly recognized Israel's existence. This gesture was justified primarily by realpolitik considerations. The United States regarded the acceptance of Resolution 242 as a condition for establishing contacts with the PLO, and most Western countries have been urging for this step for quite a while. At the same time, the PLO center under the leadership of Yasir 'Arafat is aware of the fact that there is no chance of holding an international conference or of settling the Middle East conflict by peaceful means without the good will of the West. The declaration of the new Palestinian state's intention to solve conflicts by peaceful means and to reject terrorism was aimed at gaining sympathy and strengthening the prestige of the Palestinian movement.

Thus, taking realities into consideration, the PNC has gone as far as possible in searching for a compromise to solve the Middle East conflict. However, we should not forget that several factors continue to limit these efforts to solve the conflict, and the recent decisions cannot bring about essential changes. Although the declaration of an independent Palestinian state is a spectacular step and will, no doubt, promote the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories, it remains a fact that the population in the West Bank and the Gaza strip continue to live under Israeli occupation, and under the current Israeli domestic policy conditions, it is very improbable that this situation will change with a short time. Besides,

the establishment of an independent Palestinian state will enter the realm of symbolic events only if an increasing number of states recognize it, including the leading capitalist countries.

It is not a very promising sign that, despite the opening gestures of the PNC meeting, the Israeli leadership continues to refuse to negotiate with the PLO. Prime Minister-elect Shamir called the recent PNC decisions a propaganda trick and confirmed his previous position according to which the acceptance of the principle of "territory in exchange for peace" is out of question. In view of the coalition negotiations, this Israeli position could still change, but one can hardly expect a considerable change to occur. How Washington evaluates the PNC decision and whether it will be ready to negotiate with the PLO is also a big consideration. Even if Washington does negotiate, it is still not certain that it would also accept the decision on the establishment of an independent Palestinian state because this would goes against all its concepts of settling the conflict.

In analyzing the effects of the Algiers meeting, we should also bear in mind that the Palestinian movement and the Arab world are not united on these issues either. No doubt, these decisions represent the opinion of the majority, but it is worth noting that one-sixth of the participants did not accept the political declaration, not to mention the organizations which were not represented at the meeting at all. However, unity and coordinated activity in the Palestinian movement, as well as common support provided by the Arab countries are indispensable for effective implementation of the recent decisions.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 2-9 Nov

AU1111180088 [Editorial Report] Budapest press during the 3-10 November period reports on the following appearances of Hungarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo and Central Committee secretary, participated in a party aktiv meeting held by the MSZMP Budapest 21st district committee on 9 November. (NEPSZABADSAG, 10 Nov, p 5)

Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Politburo and minister of state, paid a working visit to Budapest's 15th district and met with the heads of the district party committee on 9 November. (NEPSZABADSAG, 10 Nov, p 5)

MSZMP Politburo member Rezso Nyers spoke at the opening ceremony of the political book week held in Salgotarjan on 9 November. (NEPSZABADSAG, 10 Nov, p 3)

MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Gyorgy Fejti paid a working visit to Budapest's 20th district on 9 November. (NEPSZABADSAG, 10 Nov, p 5)

Interior Minister Istvan Horvath gave a lecture to the Young Lawyers Club on the subject of the constitutional state on 8 November. (MAGYAR HIRLAP, 10 Nov, p 3)

PZPR Politburo Holds Meeting 22 Nov
LD2211233188 Warsaw PAP in English 2200 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 22—The Political Bureau of the PUWP CC examined Tuesday the activity of workers self-managements.

The meeting discussed the state of preparations for the 3rd All-Poland Theoretical and Ideological Conference.

Civilian Elected New Gdansk Voivoda
LD2211200788 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Excerpt] The Gdansk voivodship has a new voivoda. He is Jerzy Jedykiewicz. In a secret ballot, the Voivodship People's Council considered two candidacies proposed by the premier. Stefan Milewski received fewer votes. At the same time, the premier recalled Major General Mieczyslaw Gygan from the post of Gdansk voivoda, due to the necessity of his return to service in the National Defense Ministry. Recognition was expressed for his activity in the state administration.

New Gdansk Voivoda Jerzy Jedykiewicz is 42 years old and was born in Gdansk to a working-class family. He graduated from Gdansk Technical University, and is a master of hydroengineering. Recently, he was the director of the Energo-Blok Wybrzeze enterprise. He has also held the position of chairman of the Municipal People's Council in Gdynia. [passage omitted]

Rakowski at Meeting on Prices, Incomes Commission
AU2211100888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Nov 88 p 1

[PAP report: "The Form and Work of the Commission for Prices and Incomes: A Meeting at the Office of the Council of Ministers"]

[Text] On 14 November a meeting chaired by Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski was held at the Office of the Council of Ministers. The subject under discussion was the establishment of a State-Public Commission for Prices and Incomes. Among those who took part in it were Wladyslaw Baka, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and Bogdan Krolewski, secretary of the ZSL Supreme Committee.

At the beginning of the meeting, the premier recalled that the initiative for establishing a commission of this kind was launched at the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum. He stressed that the government has embraced the initiative in the hope that the commission's activities will make it possible to improve the process of holding consultations about and setting the directions of prices and incomes policy. The premier said that policy in this area must successfully balance the interests of individual social and vocational groups with the general public interest and the capabilities of the economy. He said that the government hopes that agreement will be reached on this matter in an open way with the participation of all the parties concerned. So far consultations have mainly taken the form of bilateral talks between representatives of various branches and groups of employees and the government. The commission would introduce the principle of multilateral negotiations and creating a consensus between employers, employees and the government, and between farmers and other groups of employees.

During the debate speakers stressed the usefulness of setting up a body of this kind, which could become a forum for reaching agreement about sensitive social issues. A draft agreement on establishing the commission was discussed, as well as the nature and form of the work that it would perform and the range of problems that it would deal with. It was suggested that individual social and occupational groups should be represented in commission work by the heads of their organizations and high-ranking government representatives. The stance of the commission will be arrived at by way of producing a consensus, that is, by way of everyone agreeing to the solutions that are formulated. The representatives of the OPZZ and of the National Association of Farmers, Farming Circles and Farming Organizations who attended the meeting said that the question of whether they would take part in the work of the commission depends on what is decided by the governing bodies of their organizations.

It was decided that the next meeting of those involved with the prospective commission will be held next week.

Jaruzelski Tours Skierniewice 15 Nov

Visits Rawa Mazowiecka
LD1611224188 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Wojciech Jaruzelski has been in Skierniewice Voivodship since this morning. It is known for its various initiatives contradicting the so-called general impotence. General Jaruzelski began his visit to this voivodship at Rawa Mazowiecka, which has 17,000 inhabitants. He saw over the old conference hall of the party urban committee, converted on the party's initiative into a library and reading room for children and young people.

[Begin recording] [Jaruzelski] I think this an excellent initiative. How many volumes are there?

[Unidentified speaker] There are 26,000 volumes.

[Jaruzelski] And readers?

[Speaker] Exactly 1,152—that's today's figure.

[Jaruzelski] What are the annual borrowing figures?

[Speaker] More than 46,000 annually. [end recording]

This is the Wis measuring instruments plant. Half of the 800-strong work force works a shift system. Wages have risen, but so has productivity.

[Worker] When I came here I had 53 people on my shift. At the moment I have 43; 10 fewer people are employed, and production has increased.

[Unidentified speaker] What about wages?

[Worker] Wages [words indistinct].

[Jaruzelski] How is the pay divided?

[Worker] The shift has worked out a system and divides the money itself.

[Jaruzelski] What is the situation regarding employing older people? As far as I know, in some cases difficulties arise, even of a moral nature, if someone is aproaching retirement and his productivity is less and there is no use for him on the shift.

[Worker] Older employees simply form the backbone [word indistinct] on the last shift. These are mainly specialists who work, one can say, in such a way that [word indistinct] they create the basis of a founding shift. They often help new employees. They initiate them into the whole art of working on machinery and so forth.

[Jaruzelski] So there is no problem here.

[Worker] Not on our shift [word indistinct].

[Jaruzelski] In many cases the difficulty of organizing shifts is justified by this: that there is no guarantee of regular supplies of materials. Then the problems arise.

[Worker] If we have material, enough material and tools, we have no problem (?in using them).

[Jaruzelski] Are there irregular supplies here?

[Another worker] No, up to now we have had supplies. There have only been a few cases of shortages, but (?as a rule) we have had supplies.

[Jaruzelski] (?What problems are there?)

[Worker] Well, there are the same problems as everywhere else, probably. The materials are not always on time and as much as is needed. But in the shift teams we have fewer problems because on most teams the people have more than one trade. If there is no material for a given product, then they make another one.

[Jaruzelski] More flexibility.

[Worker] Of course, greater flexibility and then the problem is eased. You can hold out for 2 weeks, 1 month, of course. Any longer and it becomes impossible. But this problem does not occur here in this shift team. [passage omitted]

[Another worker] All these matters, all the grievances which occur down here on the production line are very well known and are sent directly to the management. We have very frequent meetings with management. We consider various problems affecting the whole plant. Well, maybe it's a good thing to have found someone directly in production.

[Jaruzelski] It is wonderful for you to be concurrently chairman of the works council and at the same time leader of a partnership team. That is excellent. Such a short conversation means more than reading a thick book of reports. In any case, I have been convinced that this is a very good form, long-term, and it should be fought for. [end recording]

Gen Jaruzelski was also shown the construction of reservoirs of 100 hectares in area. There will be a small hydroelectric power plant. Water supplies will improve. There will be recreation parks. All as voluntary work, with the minimum subsidies.

[Begin recording] [Jaruzelski] What output will the power plant have?

[Speaker] Sixty megawatts. This will be enough to supply energy for the whole center. We will sell energy to the national grid. [end recording]

The sports hall is also new. It's small, within the town's means, but built by voluntary work. A construction company is the next initiative. It was set up by the urban authorities and workplants. The work is going faster than elsewhere.

[Begin recording] [Jaruzelski] This is a very interesting organizational form. It is very interesting: the link-up of different customers.

[Speaker] Yes, for example, one has equipment and is not using it; the other has money...

[Another speaker, interrupting] a third has people, and a fourth has (?somewhere). [passage omitted]

[Jaruzelski] Has any building been commissioned here yet?

[Speaker] Yes, that one. That one has been, hasn 't it?

[Another speaker] Yes, the (?square) one.

[Jaruzelski] Can we see it?

[Speaker] Yes, of course.

[Jaruzelski] May I come in?

[Resident] Yes, please do.

[Jaruzelski] How many rooms does this apartment have?

[Resident] Three.

[Jaruzelski] And the family?

[Resident] I live with my husband and grandma.

[Jaruzelski] And with grandma. That's not bad, is it?

[Resident] No, it's good.

[Jaruzelski] Very good. Did you wait long?

[Resident] About 10 years, like everyone more or less, since we opened the savings book. [end recording]

In the afternoon at the pakrty voivodship committee there was a meeting with young people: the best from the whole voivodship, the best at school, in sports, participants in olympics and competitions, that is, the vanguard of the 21st century. In the committee there are [words indistinct]. They set up a sort of discussion group forum. The topic of the meeting with the general was decided at the beginning: We are talking about everything. It began with a song.

Wojciech Jaruzelski is still in Skierniewice Voivodship.

Meets With Skierniewice Youth

LD2111192288 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1710 GMT 20 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Out of the ordinary—that is the title of a report from Tuesday's meeting between Wojciech Jaruzelski with Skierniewice (?youth). [passage omitted]

Wojciech Jaruzelski admitted that the problem of bureaucracy is a broad and complicated one, that besets many of Poland's inhabitants, both young and old.

[Begin recording] [Jaruzelski] One must liberate oneself from [word indistinct] -mania and simultaneously be a bureaucrat, not understanding other people not meeting them halfway, being isolated from life. But, I want to allow myself a certain joke here. A (?nice) French one I would note, for the French have very sharp jokes. At the time of this enthiusiasm [words indistinct] a colonel adresses the general and says: General, why are there so many stupid generals? (?He) responds: Colonel, because they make them out of colonels. [laughter] I would paraphrase it as follows: Bureaucrats don't come down to earth from heaven, but are made from the graduates of high schools, from the graduates of technical schools, from the graduates of universities, the graduates of polytechnic schools. The point is thus that we should, (?willingly), not from above, not from below, but all together, counteract, I would say, this growth, this polyp. Above all, the point is that this should be done by young people, not burdened by these habits and conditioning, and thus your generation, that will be entering life, will be better than us. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified participant] (?We are not only very interested in immediate problems, that is schools and learning, but we are also interested in other problems. I would like to ask: We are sitting here by an almost square table, although we are more interested in what is happening with the round table, the one which is at the moment standing in the ballroom at Jablonna.

[Jaruzelski] The wait continues. [laughter] Although I hope that (?it will eventually work). I am optimistic and think that it will come about. [passage omitted with portions indistinct]

[Participant] Why only now, over 40 years after the end of military actions, have we (?got) equal treatment, equal [words indistinct] as a show of gratitude in relation to the soldiers of these three independence currents?

[Jaruzelski] Well, during my life I have lived through a fifty degree frost in the tayga, and I have known the fire of the battlefield, and the tragedy of civil war, and the drama of the social conflicts of the last few years. And that is why I judge that on certain matters, I will be able to speak not only on the basis of theory, not on the basis of historical records, but also on the basis of my own life-time experiences. History is a process and illumination and final conclusions come with time. There arise new sources, new ways of seeing, a new vision and we live in such a period in which many of these evaluations are transformed, though we are today surely on a significantly clearer and brighter road of interpretation of history. [passage omitted]

[Jaruzelski] Every one of these topics deserves separate treatment. It is not a case of black and white. We sinned for many years by [words indistinct]—black—that which is not ours; white—that which is ours. I want to say that today there exists, as in so many other directions, [words indistinct]. The point is precisely the truth. The point is objectivity. (?To) justly, honestly, and with great dignity mark the 70th anniversary of the regaining of independence. And all these historical figures, especially the forces of Jozef Pilsudski, [passage indistinct] nobly contributed to the regaining of this independence. But it is also necessary to remember what noncommunists, too, wrote about Pilsudski, not historians of People's Poland; what Wincenty Witos, who Pilsudski's [word indistinct] threw into prison, where [words indistinct] among other eminent, deserving politicians and Poles. (?wrote); and what Roman Dmowski said and wrote about Pilsudski, and Wladyslaw Sikorski. It is not us, it is that world. And so, the point is that everything should be seen in the correct proportion, without surrendering to biased emotions that do not after all lead to anything constructive.

The matter of Anders: This was long ago. The statement that we have suddenly resurrected and repeated that other soldiers fought, too, apart from those that came from the East, is correct. No. Every drop of soldiers blood counts equally, and that is why it is necessary to respect Anders and its brave soldiers. On the other hand, it is necessary to objectively admit that although there were serious simplifications and errors here, too, the departure of the Anders Army at the most critical moment for the Soviet Union, the departure of the armies to Persia, today remains a page, [words indistinct] A doubtful page—when one thinks that the Soviet Union was hemorrhaging, the Soviet Army that provided the sole chance of victory over Hitler. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Wojceich Jaruzelski complemented the troupe and all those who, taking part in the discussion, showed a great knowledge of history. He added just one remark:

[Begin recording] [Jaruzelski] But simultaneously, if one speaks of history, then it must be seen as a whole. It is necessary to know that our sins were discussed by [name indistinct] and Piotr Skarga, and Stanislaw Staszic. And how sourly, how sourly! The great poets Norwid and Prus, and Stanislaw Brzozowski, and Stefan Zeromski. Here I speak of the later ones. Morality is a great thing, but double standards are disgraceful. [passage omitted] [end recording]

There were even more subjects and time was running out. General Jaruzelski made a suggestion that everyone accepted with enthusiasm:

[Begin recording] [Jaruzelski] I invite all those interested in this topic to the Belweder Palace on a mutually agreed date, so that we might be able to calmly, openly, and in more detail discuss everything that bothers you, that seems incomprehensible to you, that seems unjust. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Addresses Young PZPR Members

AU2111154088 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Nov 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Wojciech Jaruzelski in Skierniewice"]

[Text] Addressing a meeting of young PZPR members at the offices of the Skierniewice Voivodship PZPR Committee in Skierniewice on 15 November, PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski said: I am very happy to be here and to be able to hear your interesting opinions. This meeting has contained song, poetry, and prose. It has discussed democracy and bureaucracy. It is good that the Skierniewice Voivodship PZPR Committee maintains close contacts with young people, especially those who are talented, and that they feel comfortable in this building and are able to express their opinions. If these opinions are frequently controversial, it is good that they are being expressed here. Today you have also raised many issues connected with our wonderful but complex and painful history. History is a process, and it takes time to reveal it and formulate final assessments. We are in a period of reevaluating many assessments, and we have embarked upon a clearer interpretation of our history. Today you have asked many questions and touched upon issues which disturb you, are not understood by you, and have not been fully explained. Therefore, I invite those of you who are interested in these problems to come to the Belvedere, where we can discuss Poland's history.

I am counting on the fact that a young generation that is so keen to resolve all the "blank spots" in our history will also help us combat everything in our lives that disturbs people, delays processes, and needs to be changed.

Please convey my greetings and thanks to your parents, teachers, and supervisors for preparing you to lead a dignified life. I wish you good results in education and work, and further victories in sporting events. May you help build the kind of Poland that we can all be proud of.

Rakowski Interviewed on Reforms, Solidarity

AU2111153888 Vienna PROFIL in German 21 Nov 88 pp 70-72

[Interview with Polish Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski by Vivianne Schnitzer in Warsaw: "The Myth of Solidarity Has Been Destroyed"; date not given]

[Text] PROFIL: Mr Rakowski, you were considered a representative of glasnost long before this term was coined. How do you now feel on the other side of the political stage?

Rakowski: I am still an advocate of the openness and democratization of our system.

PROFIL: Mikhail Gorbachev has repeatedly said that he has to tackle the conservative forces in the USSR in order to implement his reform. Who are the brakers that you have to confront?

Rakowski: Our situation is different from that in the Soviet Union. In our country the process of democratization has been going on for years, even though with varying intensity. In our country the conservative forces have not developed as much as in the Soviet Union; they have had 70 years there. Conservatism is connected with the bureaucratic system, and this system was developed by Czar Nicholas I. Stalin adapted it. Polish conservatism is in the minds of the people, in the fear of new things, and in the acceptance of existing economic and social relations. If there were a precisely outlined conservative movement with certain politicians at the top, the struggle against it would be easier. One can struggle against the invisible enemy only by means of rationalization of the national economy. Therefore, the government headed by me is focusing on the economy.

PROFIL: How far will decentralization go?

Rakowski: Basically, centralism results from the desire of one man to dominate another. This starts with the editor in chief and ends with the head of government. Our system, however, was too centralized, and the main target at this stage is to weaken centralism. We have to divide the army of producers of goods into individuals and collectives that are as independent as possible. Of course, this harbors the danger that everyone only struggles for his interests and neglects those of the others. But one simply has to go through this.

PROFIL: Hungary's Communist Party chief Karoly Grosz is thinking of having private enterprises account for 30 percent of production. The other 70 percent would be accounted for by state and cooperative enterprises. How is the proportion of private production to develop in Poland?

Rakowski: At the moment it is 6 percent.

PROFIL: And how is it going to continue?

Rakowski: This is difficult to say. I have not set myself any limit, but at the current stage I would even consider it a great success if we could double the rate. It can hardly be predicted whether there will be 20 or 30 percent in the end.

PROFIL: You do not know how things are going to continue?

Rakowski: Those who think that this is possible are deluding themselves. Unfortunately, I will soon be 62. Think of a revolutionary, a contemporary of Robespierre and Marat, who was 18 at the beginning of the French Revolution, as I was when the revolution started here. Then he would now be living in 1830, would have the republic and the empire behind him, and would be sitting in some coffee shop with friends and discussing the fate of the revolution. He would not have imagined either, what would happen to the system.

PROFIL: What is actually to remain socialist in "real socialism"?

Rakowski: For this purpose, one first has to define the term. Socialism has, for instance, guaranteed full employment. Now we are asking the citizens whether they would except the fact that the people have to look for other jobs. The term "state based on benefits" [Versorgungsstaat] needs to be reconsidered. Access to education, regardless of class origin and prosperity, and the lack of large private landholdings will remain goals of socialism. I am convinced that the socialist structure continues to ensure greater justice than capitalism—even if certain inequalities are introduced.

PROFIL: Can you imagine unemployment in Poland?

Rakowski: In theory, yes—in practice, no, because in our country the service sector is underdeveloped and there are great job reserves. When I talk about looking for another job, I mean that someone has to change from one enterprise to another. Over the past few years rationalization has been demanded of everyone. However, since we have taken the first small steps in this direction, I have been accused of wanting to introduce unemployment. This is part of a political struggle.

PROFIL: If you were to hold a referendum in Poland on the issue of your party's monopoly, what would be the result?

Rakowski: That is difficult to say. That depends on the economic situation. There is, however, no doubt that the system of party monopoly is experiencing a crisis.

PROFIL: What is the reason?

Rakowski: Bad government, or, better, government without control. Over the past years, we have accepted the concept of developing forces of control that are independent of the party. This was my greatest defeat in 1981 because at that time I assumed that Solidarity would be able to be such a force. However, events showed that the extremists gained the upper hand in Solidarity and that the state had to defend itself. But I still believe that such a force can be established. Basically, the trade unions have already become such a force.

PROFIL: And what about new parties?

Rakowski: In our country the party's omnipotence is corrected by the fact that we have two other parties: the Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party. For many years they only played the role of satellite parties. However, since the feeling of independence became important in Poland, there is no longer any question of our imposing our will on them.

PROFIL: The Poles hope for pluralism, which the government has repeatedly promised. What will it be like?

Rakowski: We opt for political pluralism and thus against political struggle in the enterprises. Today—and I stress: today, under the present economic conditions—I am against two trade unions existing in one enterprise. This would again lead to a demagogic competition—not to mention the fact that Margaret Thatcher, for instance, said that she would not consider Solidarity a trade union but a political force that is struggling against communism.

PROFIL: And what do you propose?

Rakowski: A law on the right to form coalitions is being prepared, the right to establish cooperatives and political clubs. It is a question of real pluralism, and there are already some beginnings. In Warsaw and Poznan such—mostly Catholic—clubs have been founded.

PROFIL: What if Lech Walesa were the head of such a group and wanted to have it registered?

Rakowski: He would probably be registered. For a party, political pluralism creates a totally new situation: It means political struggle. We are not against it, but we want to prevent it from happening in the enterprises, because the main goal is overcoming the crisis. In addition, we have to take into account the fact that we Poles tend toward anarchy.

PROFIL: Other societies manage well with pluralism.

Rakowski: The West always speaks a lot about pluralism. But what is the basis of pluralism in America, if you compare Democrats and Republicans? They have the same goals.

PROFIL: But there are elections.

Rakowski: I can tell you that the last elections in Poland were by no means unanimous. What were the alternatives for the people to chose from in America? It was just a question of persons; the programs only differed in nuances.

PROFIL: No system is ideal.

Rakowski: I do not in any way claim that the system in which I believe and which I support is ideal. However, I certainly do not believe in the American-type system. I have been around for too long to believe in true democracy. But you will live to see that the importance of the current differences will decrease. They will be replaced by environmental protection and the protection of human life. I am convinced that these questions will push aside the differences between Western and Eastern democracy within 10 to 20 years.

PROFIL: Some members of your government have been heard to say that in view of the great problems Solidarity is not so important. However, it is an important symbol for all the world. If it is not so important, why do you not legalize it?

Rakowski: Because this is not a trade union. The leaders of this organization want to get into the enterprises under any conditions—I understand that because they want to have a basis, something which they cannot get outside the enterprises. I distinguish between the myth of Solidarity and the gentlemen who now pose certain demands. These are totally different things.

PROFIL: Do you not think that it is legitimate when trade unionists go into the enterprises and try to convince the people of their ideas?

Rakowski: If the people really want to defend the workers' interests, they can accept the offer made by the chairman of the existing trade unions, who invited them to become members. He said: "Take a vote and if you get the majority you will lead the trade union." But for them it is not a question of the trade union. I understand this, but I do not want to be treated like a small boy. Today the leaders of Solidarity constitute a political, anticommunist force. Some are more radical, others less so. Walesa is certainly one of the moderates.

PROFIL: In any case they have a great influence on the people in this country.

Rakowksi: This myth has been destroyed over the past few weeks. After the closing down of the Lenin shipyard it was said that the readiness for strikes would be proclaimed all over the country. However, after 3 days they said that there was no support, that the workers did not want to strike. If their influence were so great, they would have mobilized the entire country.

PROFIL: Was it not a provocation to close the Lenin shipyard in particular, instead of another unprofitable enterprise?

Rakowski: I would advise you not to be concerned so much about Poland. All over the world great numbers of shipyards are being closed down and the people are being thrown out into the streets. Why do you not deal with them? The Lenin shipyard has become a sacred object to Western journalists, because they have lived off it for years. It has long been known that this shipyard is unprofitable, and part of the Western press also admits this.

PROFIL: Do you not think that the "Western press" and Solidarity will find another "sacred object"?

Rakowski: No. We will take care of this.

PROFIL: Why has the government offered "talks at the roundtable" and then nothing came out of that suggestion?

Rakowski: The accusation that we want to avoid these talks is not correct. What should I have done when I became premier? Put my hands into my pockets and waited? The previous government was ousted precisely for the reason that it had its hands in its pockets. Polish society is waiting for specific actions. The "roundtable" is an attempt to bring people of the most varied political orientations together. This takes time.

PROFIL: Will the talks take place after all?

Rakowski: Yes, of course.

PROFIL: With Lech Walesa?

Rakowski: Yes, certainly.

PROFIL: You have called the migration of many young Poles a great problem. What can you offer the young generation so that it stays in Poland?

Rakowski: The young Poles are not in the same situation as the hundreds of thousands of young unemployed people in the West. They emigrate because the belief in socialism has begun to falter in Poland over the past few years. However, I am sure that there are opportunities to change things and they are in my hands. You will be able to convince yourself of these changes. This is a rich country with talented people. They only have to be freed from the rigid corset; we need man's absolute freedom in production.

PROFIL: And in politics?

Rakowski: This is a secondary matter.

PROFIL: Why?

Rakowski: Democracy without bread is nothing. This has always been so in the world. I have been accused of not being as interested in the "roundtable" as in the things that are served at this table. One cannot live on ideas. In addition, one has to state for once that the tables in most Polish houses are square.

Rakowski Meets Warsaw City Authorities
LD1211035588 Warsaw PAP in English 0001 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 11—During his meeting with Warsaw authorities here today prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski expressed concern about the problems facing the city, troubled with inefficient housing construction, city communication, heating, etc. He declared his government's readiness to consider the essential issues of the development of the Polish capital during work on socio-economic plans of the country's development.

The premier announced that he will hold periodic meetings with Warsaw authorities in the future.

Rakowski Presents Awards to Journalists
LD1111144988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] At the House of Journalists in Warsaw a large group of journalists was presented with state decorations awarded to them by the Council of State for oustanding achievements in their professional work and public activity. The act of presentation was performed by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Gorywoda Interviewed on Reform, Mining
AU1611165388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Nov 88 pp 1,2

[Interview with Manfred Gorywoda, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee, by TRYBUNA LUDU reporter Stanislaw Zielinski: "This Is Just the Beginning..."—date and place not given]

[Text] [Zielinski] During the recent Katowice party plenum, you examined the successes and difficulties with implementing the reform in the Katowice region. What conclusions did you reach?

[Gorywoda] We mainly assessed the effectiveness of the economic reform measures in the voivodship. The basic conclusion is encouraging. The plenum said that without visible results in implementing the reform, the results actually achieved by our work forces would not have been possible, especially under the present complicated circumstances.

But the plenum also voiced criticism. Excessive inflation is causing many economic and social problems. That is the main reason why wage increases are still out of line with increases in productivity, as many people said.

Generally, however, the plenum was unanimously in favor of a further consistent reform of the entire economy and a consolidation of workers self-management. For this purpose, it is essential to establish the broadest possible support for the reforms, and we have set appropriate tasks for our party organizations and cells.

[Zielinski] There are fears that the only reform that will occur in mining is a restructuring of the mines in the Katowice mining area.

[Gorywoda] I understand these fears. In any case, I have to admit that many press articles on this subject have been misleading. In fact, the organizational changes now taking place in the Katowice mining area are just the beginning of a difficult path of reform in mining. A new, reorganized structure of the mining area is meant to simplify this road and lead to personnel reductions and financial savings.

Far more important from the point of view of the reform is that as of 1 January 1989, miners councils will be able to commence their activity in every mine, and that they will receive powers in the sphere of social policy, scientific progress, inventiveness and rationalization, and occupational training.

However, our party committees in the mines do not think this is enough. The most important issue remains to be solved—giving the mines greater independence. This idea was approved unanimously.

[Zielinski] So far, the mining industry has managed to resist the economic reform, using its separate status as an argument in its defense. Might a lack of experience in reform matters not have a negative effect?

[Gorywoda] The nature of the mining industry is a fact one has to accept. Suffice it to say that the solutions that have been applied to the processing industries are not suitable for coal mines. Therefore, and the plenum also said this, it is essential to accelerate work on a financial-economic system that takes mining's different status into account and permits an end to the order-directive system of managing this industrial branch and the introduction of a system of parameters in its place. Only then will a greater independence of coal mines really be possible.

We decided that this is the direction in which to proceed, because nowhere else except in mines are the costs of coal extraction and a rational use of factors of production determined.

Of course, in order to reach the desired results, the new financial-economic system must allow the mining industry to plan further ahead than just next year.

As far as a lack of reform experience is concerned, we as a party have to work more closely with people, especially managerial cadres, when creating new working conditions in the mines. More than that, every single miner must realize the advantages to be gained from the new, productivity-boosting system.

[Zielinski] Is work on this new financial-economic system already under way?

[Gorywoda] Yes. We have said that it should be finished as quickly as possible. We think this is a fundamental condition that has to be fulfilled if the economic reform is also to function in the mining industry, which, by the way, is in accordance with the reform principles.

OPZZ Chairman Answers TU Questions

LD1911231688 Warsaw PAP in English
1812 GMT 19 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 19—A programme "Who Is For—Who Is Against" was broadcast in three parts on the first TV channel today, precededing a trade union discussion to be held at the third assembly of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) in Lodz on November 26-27.

Ordinary people answered questions asked in the streets and TV studio about the image of the present trade unions, their successes and shortcomings, and expressed their opinions about the future of the trade union movement with a great commitment and often in a polemical tone.

How to boost trade union activity and effectiveness, was the question raised as many respondents said in some factories trade union work was very poor.

OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz answered questions by TV viewers and took a stand on statements made in the studio in the third part of the broadcast.

He said trade unionists aimed primarily to make life of working people decent. Asked about TV meeting with Lech Walesa and about participation of third persons in preparing it, he said he saw no need for any intermediaries and that the so-called technical details could be agreed directly with television as a broadcast's producer.

Miodowicz on Walesa, Social Contract

AU2111111088 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
15 Nov 88 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR Politburo member and OPZZ chairman, by TRYBUNA LUDU's Teresa Grabczynska: "As Much Disagreement as Agreement"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Grabczynska] Last week's meeting between OPZZ aktivists and government representatives was surprisingly calm. Things used to be different. Why the change?

[Miodowicz] One has to receive in a dignified manner every new partner who conforms to our expectations. However, one must not give up anything that forms the basis of trade union activity. Until now, the government has had no possibility of providing us with concepts about its objectives, especially the three priority objectives that correspond so closely with those of the trade unions. I would even say that our objectives have been copied, because we publicized them much earlier. So it is pleasing that the government, by means of its own assessment of the situation, has reached the same conclusions as us, so that now we have common objectives.

Therefore, at the meeting, we had no reason to doubt the new government's intentions, especially because we very much approve of Premier Rakowski's approach toward the solving of these problems. His approach augurs an accelerated implementation of the trade union postulates and decisions that were adopted at our congress 2 years ago. This acceleration is essential because many of the issues we raised at the congress have still not been completely resolved, due to the fact that decision-makers have misunderstood their essence and social significance.

[Grabczynska] Could you give an example of such an issue?

[Miodowicz] Yes, housing construction. It is in a very bad state. When we demanded an improvement, we were told that first of all it would take 2 years to improve the construction industry's infrastructure. In any case, society's concern about this sphere shows that bureaucracy is still maintaining a stronghold. Because of this bureaucracy, it was possible to explain away poor construction results by saying that the infrastructure had to be completed first. Today, not only do we still have no infrastructure, but also fewer and fewer apartments are being built, and those that are being built are increasingly expensive and of increasingly poor quality.

[Grabczynska] Let me deal with a different subject—the role of the trade unions, not the negative role, but the positive one. Perhaps the national economic consolidation program provides a chance to increase it?

[Miodowicz] This program possesses good features, but for us it is still "inedible." We do not know what lies beneath it, and our fears and reservations stem from previous experience. We said that Professor Sadowski's previous program was a threat to working people. In the end, it turned out to be deadly in theory and in practice. We raised the alarm when the prices and incomes policy became clear.

Today we still do not know what the new prices and incomes policy will be like, and that is why our first meeting with the government was so full of good will. But I do not think our future cooperation with the government will be devoid of conflicts. I gave a clear warning that we even expect major differences between us. While I am waiting for a clear explanation of the government program, I foresee that there will not be much mutual agreement during the discussions, because we can read between the lines of the program, and that tells us that its implementation may arouse opposition from the trade unions, or, to put it more appropriately, may lead to the presentation of alternative concepts.

[Grabczynska] Does that mean that presenting obvious economic facts to working people will result in nothing but opposition and conflict?

[Miodowicz] The policy currently pursued by the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy concerning important social matters really is surprising, and is arousing opposition. The statements of representatives of this ministry seem to reflect a lack of concern. I consider it hasty to suggest that employers should cease to indulge in social affairs. Are all the social premises belonging to various factories suddenly to become vacant, belonging to no one? It is also wrong to say that national social benefits should take the place of the social security offered by employers. We disagree with this, just like many factory trade unions do. This is also a warning for the new government. It must expect a difficult partner. It cannot expect a passive one. Our cooperation with the government will be partnerlike, but it will also involve hard bargaining. However, the initial differences should lead to the conclusion of a new social contract. On behalf of their 7 million members and all working people, the trade unions will include in the contract everything they can offer the government, in exchange for what the government will offer working people.

[Grabczynska] That is a serious and businesslike proposal, but it does not answer my question completely. Today, conflicts are not rare. They are almost an everyday feature. In the present economic situation, do you not see a certain limit to these conflicts, for example strikes?

[Miodowicz] We are not abandoning the possibility of strike action. We are striving for the possibility of trade unions, acting on behalf of the work force, to initiate protest action in a legal manner, while avoiding the present long procedures and month-long misunderstandings. After all, criticism from a work force must always be treated seriously, and it must be treated early, before it can develop into a strike. One must alter one's approach toward the postulates of workers. One must examine them without delay and say immediately what is possible to settle and what is not.

However, it is scandalous if something is only settled when a work force calls for it to be settled, and does so in a dramatic way, by stopping work. This gives people the idea that this is the only way to have one's interests recognized.

It is easy to cause a conflict today. People are disturbed by the rising prices and progressing inflation, and are afraid that they will suffer privations, that the fruits of many years of work may be swallowed up, as in the case of their monetary savings. So let us not be surprised that there is a drive toward higher wages.

But do people today earn more than they did in 1979? According to our economists, real wages have fallen by 20 percent since that year. The wages policy that is being pursued is a regressive one. That is one reason why work forces complain so often about the low average wages.

[Grabczynska] But what can be done? Do the trade unions have any suggestions of their own?

[Miodowicz] Let us take a look at employment policy. We have no unemployment, and are not threatened with it. But we do have personnel shortages. Our experts insist that there are 2 million people too many working in large state enterprises, while there is a shortage of manpower in small enterprises and in the retail trade and services. That means we are wasting money.

I am convinced that when employment becomes more or less "balanced out," everyone will begin to respect work and seek an answer to the above question.

[Grabczynska] But that belongs to the future. Today, I do not think workers are watching and criticizing anyone as closely as the trade unions. That is the case in large and small enterprises, in enterprises where there are attempts to reinstate "Solidarity," and in those where "nothing is happening."

[Miodowicz] The conclusion for us is that trade union activity should be livelier and more militant. Times are past when all trade unions had to do was book vacations or places in convalescent homes, look after pensioners, and see to it that one could buy potatoes in winter. Now the trade unions have to protect people against any threats they could encounter at work.

The first such threat could come from one's supervisor. Here, we usually act only after tension has flared up.

Has anything improved concerning the way young people adapt to work? I myself have come across a case where, in the "Stomil" plant in Olsztyn, a departmental head awarded a high hourly rate to a young employee, but a clerk in the personnel department reduced it.

The trade unions must oppose such practices and have the opportunity of doing so. This is guaranteed by the factory wage agreements. However, not every trade union is using these agreements as a weapon in the struggle for workers interests.

[Grabczynska] I would not regard that as the main field for aggressive trade union militancy. These are important issues, but other issues are more important still. Working conditions should be the main issue, because they, and not only wages, so often decide whether workers assume or leave their jobs. Trade unionists are not very active in this regard....

[Miodowicz] As long as workers do not know that there is someone to see that their working conditions are safe and decent, a view like that is justified. I could tell you about many trade union measures as well as about many obstacles and the lack of opportunities. However, this fact does not relieve us of the duty to continue unceasing efforts to make work easier and safer so that every worker can be sure that he will be able to retire in good health.

Much is being said about radically reforming the economy as well as about the need to cut social benefits. I think it is wrong to deprive individual sectors of social benefits in a crisis situation. We should look for savings in the use of materials, in organization, and in management, and not in social benefits. That is also an action line for trade unionists to following in enterprises.

[Grabczynska] We have listed many issues still to be settled. If there are so many of them, let us not wonder that some work forces do not agree with Miodowicz that there should be "one trade union in one enterprise" and want to have other trade union organizations.

[Miodowicz] That is not so. There are two reasons for the trend toward so-called trade union pluralism. The first reason, which is irrational, results from the absolutely unjustified conviction that only other trade unions—Solidarity, for example—are able to solve all difficult problems at one stroke.

The second reason results from the fact, which I have already mentioned, that work forces are anxious about what they already possess. That is why they may favor the trends that represent their critical viewpoint on the condition of our economy. Although this representation is demagogical, the work forces favor such trends, because they regard them as natural.

There is still another reason of a more subjective nature. This is the wish of the former Solidarity activists to create an atmosphere that would be favorable to the legal reinstatement of Solidarity. They place their hopes in such an atmosphere.

If I were convinced that trade union pluralism could cure all our problems, I would be in favor of it. But let us take a look at the situation in enterprises, in which strikes took place not so long ago, including the Andaluzja coalmine, the Lenin foundry, the Gdansk shipyard, and the Szczecin harbor. Unnecessary divisions were created in those plants, into those which went on strike, those which did not, those which organized the strikes, and those which remained passive. These divisions are acute and deep. I am convinced that if a second trade union organization existed in those plants, such divisions would be a daily occurrence, and there would be no need for strikes to create them.

But this is not all. We should realize that these divisions and efforts to set set up "one's own trade union" affect the interests of the plant and the economy. If the plant goes bust, the work force and every trade union go bust.

[Grabczynska] As I see it, trade unionists see no meaningful alternative to the principle of "one trade union in one enterprise." Will you try to enforce that principles at the roundtable talks?

[Miodowicz] Certainly. The OPZZ Council's resolution has placed limits on what we can discuss, but we have never shirked talks with those who want to improve the present trade union model or to replace it with a better model. If those who oppose us have better ideas in that regard, we can talk with them. If Lech Walesa has better ideas, I am always ready to talk with him.

Perhaps we all could tell our people what our ideas are? Perhaps we could really meet in front of millions and millions of Poles who watch television? Let us talk about the future of trade unions and, primarily, about a program, and not only about structures. We have the necessary program.

[Grabczynska] Since the speed of change is very considerable nowadays, is it enough to have a program? Is it not necessary to radicalize it, for example?

[Miodowicz] Our trade unions have become very radical and have demonstrated it many times in recent months. Perhaps they are even too radical, as those who are accustomed to the trade unions as the party's messenger boys.

We continue to make changes and to improve our daily performance. We need no general renewal, because we are a young organization —just 5 years old.

The trade union experience of our activists at their jobs is not much longer. Those activists have been elected by secret ballot and have not been appointed from above.

To us the slogan "Let us improve what we have" is a meaningful one.

[Grabczynska] I would be in favor of that because I am aware of the need, say, to strengthen the organizational movement. For example, I think that the 135 present trade union federations should merged into 26 branch organizations. But this is a natural and long process, one that calls for independent decisions and not for decisions imposed from above. Should not the OPZZ acquire greater powers as a national trade union representation?

[Miodowicz] None of those correct changes must weaken the position of trade unions in enterprises even for a moment. That is our credo and our strength. Any other attitude leads to weakness, as the trade union movement found out during the reign of the Central Trade Union Council [CRZZ]. Solidarity, which banked on centralization, went through the same experience.

[Grabczynska] What is worth taking over from the achievements of those two movements?

[Miodowicz] The strong fiscal position of the Central Trade Union Council, but the one that is created by promoting trade union economic activities and not by fees paid by members. As for Solidarity, we would take over its system of rapid internal information, which reaches all trade union echelons, and its ability to respond quickly to the work forces' demands.

[Grabczynska] Past wisdom is not enough. No postwar Polish trade union movement has ever faced the need to eliminate large unprofitable enterprises....

[Miodowicz] Liquidation of enterprises is always a dramatic event for all, especially for the work forces concerned. It is hard to expect trade unions to encourage the liquidation of their enterprises.

I can also understand that the Gdansk shipyard trade union cannot approve the liquidation of the shipyard and that it keeps protesting and trying to protect workers. However, let me stress that that trade union has not made any dramatic gestures and has not appealed to workers to halt production. I also wish to decisively scotch the rumor that our trade union has signed an accord with the illegal structures of Solidarity "to protect the shipyard." No such accord exists.

Chairman Henryk Koscielski not only did not "fraternize" with Solidarity, but has even issued a statement that clearly qualified the activists of former Solidarity as jointly responsible for the shipyard's situation.

We see the issue like this: We do not approve of those decisions, but we understand the grounds for them. At the same time, we, as the OPZZ, at once put forward an entire package of proposals for the legal and social protection for the workers of the plants under liquidation. We deem it our duty to assist every trade union whose plant is about to be erased from the map of our economy. This assistance is meant to ensure that the trade union concerned is able to take better care of the interests of the workers it represents.

[Grabczynska] Please tell me briefly what are the most important trade union commitments, specific plans, and the problems that the third assembly is to tackle soon?

[Miodowicz] This is the list of issues: To strengthen trade union representation in the Sejm, which is necessary if only to have changes in the trade union law carried out promptly; a hard struggle for working conditions and for a better status of the Social Labor Inspections; a closer cooperation with the Organization of Farmers and of Agricultural Circles and Organizations and with the Chief Technical Organization; the completion of the prolonged process of collective labor contracts in line with trade union ideas; and work forces' recreational facilities, which have now lost all support from social benefits and which are as important to us as work and wages.

The next congress will be held in 2 years, which we will spend on strengthening our movement, although it is possible that we will promote experimental solutions on the advice of work forces and with the approval of trade unionists.

Barcikowski Defends Private Farming

AU2111175888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Nov 88 p 2

[Report by Waldemar Gontarski: "Family Farming Is a Polish Success"]

[Text] Kazimierz Barcikowski [PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary] met with people's councillors and leading farmers in the village of Leszno-wola, Warsaw Voivodship, on 14 November. He said:

After 70 years, we have to appreciate the value of independence, because today, just like in 1918, nothing is more important than a sovereign Polish state, a universal organization of the entire people.

When we look at old photographs of heroes in the struggle for independence, we see rural scenes in the background. Independence came to a poor and ravaged Poland. What are Polish rural areas like today? I see some of you have built yourselves new farm buildings. That is also an achievement of an independent Poland. I have been asked about the state's attitude toward agriculture. This topic possesses a rich history, although not necessarily a glorious one.

When I was minister of agriculture between from 1974-78, we tried to do everything we could. Agriculture did expand, but we were under constant pressure to collectivize. We had to explain why we were not collectivizing and why we were were developing family-run farms. We had to defend our agricultural policy against accusations from inside and outside Poland. Today, even those countries that have carried out a complete collectivization are reverting to private farming. However, they use different terms, such as "family tenancy." Peasant farming has withstood a heavy test of time. The changes taking place in agriculture today are the result of a resounding defeat, in PZPR agricultural policy, over a dogmatic approach toward forms of ownership. Our approach toward private farming is permanent, and it is not subject to experimental doctrine. Other socialist countries have started to appreciate private farming because of its results, not because of doctrine.

However, we must remember that our agriculture has to be more productive. It is losing manpower. This is the situation everywhere in the world.

Because there will be less and less people in agriculture, it is obvious that farms will have to be bigger and bigger. I mean, private farms will have to be larger in size. Here one could quote the industrial slogan about the need to become wealthier. I myself do not like this slogan. What does wealth mean? For honest work one deserves honest pay. A farmer should have guarantees of receiving such pay, so that he can finance the expansion of his farm. However, wealth means more than just money. Spiritual life must also be wealthy. One can have a richer culture. All of this constitutes wealth.

State farms are essential, because that is where quality seed and healthy animals—in a word, biological progress—should come from. If rural inhabitants think it is worth joining forces in order to run a farm, then production cooperatives are also required. However, Poland is dominated by family farms. They should develop and become increasingly larger and modern.

The future of modern agriculture should concentrate on the size and productivity of agriculture, not the type of ownership. Before the war, the structure of agriculture was influenced by the lack of employment possibilities outside it, as a result of which land was divided up into smaller and smaller parcels. Our agriculture became one of the worst in Europe, and the most subdivided.

When I was first secretary of the Krakow Voivodship PZPR Committee, the average size of a farm there was slightly more than two hectares. In nine rural districts, the average size was less than one hectare. While flying from Krakow to Warsaw, I flew over the Mysiadlo state farm, which possesses 36 hectares under glass, the same area as 18 farms in Krakow. Poverty is the only explanation for such a structure. Therefore, one has to aim for bigger farms. That is the direction in which to steer agricultural policy. You farmers should steer yourselves in this direction, too. A person's income will be determined by his ability to increase his productivity per hectare and per kg of animal feed.

Michalek Addresses Tarnobrzeg Party Plenum

AU1111092188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 88 p 3

[Ryszard Zatorski report: "Tarnobrzeg—Improvements in Rural Life"]

[Excerpts] For the third time in the eighties, the plenum of the voivodship party organization in Tarnobrzeg, which was held on 5 November, evaluated the realization of agricultural policy in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship. [passage omitted]

Speaking in the plenum discussion, Zbigniew Michalek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, recalled that the promise that the government would deal with agriculture on a priority basis amounts to fulfilling the 10th party congress resolution. Z. Michalek discussed current measures to develop a new agricultural policy and conditions for profitable farm production, and stressed that the party must focus its attention on people so that, when considering what crops should be cultivated and where, it does not lose sight of the basic task of improving the quality of the rural people's living conditions. This quality, he said, is made of work under decent conditions, of access to a telephone, of good roads, and shops with plentiful goods. [passage omitted]

Wieslaw Ufniarz was elected first secretary of the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship PZPR Committee. [passage omitted]

Loranc Receives Jewish Delegation

AU1111130988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Nov 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Preserving Jewish Culture"]

[Text] On 8 November, Wladyslaw Loranc, head of the Office for Religious Affairs, received representatives of the Orthodox rabbis in the United States, Israel, Belgium, and Great Britain who are members of the Commission for Jewish Cemeteries in Poland, which was set up in 1953. The meeting discussed the efforts to date to preserve the monuments of Jewish culture and religion in Poland and stressed that, thanks to the cooperation of the Jewish communities throughout the world, the Mosaic Religion Association, and the state bodies, a dozen or so Jewish cemeteries had been completely reconstructed and some scores or so had been put in good order. In this connection, the meeting expressed surprise that some countries had censured Poland for its attitude toward Jewish culture.

'Solidarnosc Norway-Poland' Protest Noted

LD1811232088 Warsaw PAP in English
1324 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—Radio Free Europe reported in its dispatch from Oslo on November 17 that a local organization bearing the name "Solidarnosc Norway-Poland" had protested against the liquidation of the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk.

That act would be of no particular interest were it not for a very promising statement by signatories of the protest who think that Norwegian shipowners should not enter into contracts with other Polish shipyards at a time when, as they say, the deals could be concluded in the Gdansk shipyard.

One might say that it was a shot that hit economic bull's eye. Next, the authors of the protest should persuade those who would take their advice to invest in modernization and development of those Polish enterprises which are meant to be liquidated for economic reasons. It could be another memorable step made by "Solidarnosc Norway-Poland" if they were able to persuade Western creditors to adopt a more favourable financial policy towards Poland.

Every initiative of its kind will certainly make for Poland's overcoming economic difficulties. And perhaps other Solidarnosc centres abroad could be encouraged to join this project. We are waiting for new ideas.

Rakowski Receives Austrian Journalists

LD1711025688 Warsaw PAP in English
2353 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 16—Chairman of the Council of Ministers Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received today here a group of Austrian journalists.

The prime minister answered many questions concerning mainly the Polish internal situation. The guests were interested both in the person and the political past of the premier as well as in the matters of trade union pluralism, moods among [word indistinct]. In his statement, Rakowski pointed to the need for, not only because of Poland's interests, but also those of Europe, an honest and objective presentation of the complex social and economic processes taking place in Poland.

The meeting precedes the forthcoming visit by the Polish chairman of the Council of Ministers to Austria to be paid November 24-26.

Ceausescu Message to Romanian-U.S. Council

AU1111084388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2150 GMT 10 Nov 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Message to the Participants in the Fifteenth Session of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/11/1988—In his message to the participants in the 15th session of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council, President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed the best wishes of success in the proceedings of the session, in the productive development of collaboration between Romanian enterprises and U.S. companies.

Now in its 15th year, the message reads, the council has made a substantial contribution to the promotion of economic links between Romania and the U.S.A., to the strengthening of general Romanian-U.S. ties. The results of the concerted efforts made along the years are worth consolidating and developing further.

Romania is and consistently works for the growth of commercial exchanges and of manysided economic cooperation with the United States of America, in the spirit of the documents and understandings reached at top level, on the basis of equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage.

In his message, the Romanian head of state considers that at present there are broad possibilities for the further expansion of economic relations by developing cooperation in production and technical-scientific cooperation, by boosting Romanian exports and imports from the U.S.A., to gradually attain a relatively equilibrated balance.

This year's experience shows that, through concerted efforts Romanian enterprises and U.S. companies managed to find—and can further identify—corresponding ways and means to overcome the states of affairs created by the recent discriminatory tariff treatment the U.S. imposed on Romanian products after the most-favoured nation clause had been suspended.

I consider that both sides should work to revert to the mutual granting of the most-favoured nation clause, in line with the Romanian-U.S. commercial agreement of 1975, providing for the development of a mutually advantageous trade, free from restrictions, artificial barriers, discriminations and conditionings, which have nothing to do with trade and economic cooperation. The revalidation of the clause not annually but concomitantly with the extension of the commercial agreement at the most would be for the benefit of both sides.

In conclusion, the message expresses the belief that in future as well the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council will contribute to the development and diversification of commercial exchanges, to the expansion of bilateral economic ties and of the area of cooperation, to the general advance of Romanian-U.S. links, in the interest of the two countries and peoples, of the cause of international peace and collaboration.

Session Held With Joint Commission With EEC

AU2111202688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2009 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 21/11/1988—On Monday, November 21, the proceedings of the Eighth Session of the Joint Romania-European Economic Community (EEC) Commission started in Bucharest.

The two delegations examine the evolution of the economic relations between Romania and the EEC member countries, the possibilities and ways of developing the cooperation between the two sides in domains of common interest, of broadening and diversifying the mutual goods exchanges.

Ceausescu, Party Impart Thanks, Best Wishes

Thanks Honecker From Plane

AU2111150488 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Nov 88 p 5

[President Nicolae Ceausescu "Cable From Aboard the Presidential Plane" to SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker]

[Text] To Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State

Dear Comrade Erich Honecker: Leaving the GDR, once again I want to express cordial thanks for the warm hospitality and attention shown us.

I want to express the firm conviction that the visit, talks, and understandings arrived at will give a new impetus to relations of many-sided cooperation between our countries, parties, and peoples.

I want to wish the friendly people of the GDR fresh and ever more important successes in implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and in building the developed socialist society in your homeland.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

Ceausescu Receives, Greets Foreign Officials

Receives New Italian Ambassador

AU2211194388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1907 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 22/11/1988—On Tuesday, November 22, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received Luigi Amaduzzi who presented his letters of credence as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic to Romania.

Handing over his credentials, Ambassador Luigi Amaduzzi conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu a friendly message and best wishes on behalf of the president of the Italian Republic, Francesco Cossiga, as well as his feelings of high esteem and consideration.

The ambassador's address makes reference to the traditional relation of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples which see a continuous and fruitful development in the political, economic, cultural and other domains of activity.

Receiving the letters of credence, President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the message he was conveyed and addressed President Francesco Cossiga the warmest wishes of success in his activity, of health and personal happiness, and the friendly Italian people wishes of progress and prosperity.

President Nicolae Ceausescu's address underscores that close ties of friendship and collaboration have always existed between Romania and Italy, and reference is made to the fact that broad possibilities are in place for the more powerful expansion of those good ties, especially of the economic, technical-scientific and cultural cooperation, as well as for the growth and diversification of commercial exchanges in the mutual interest, in the interest of the cause of peace, understanding and progress worldwide. At the same time, stress is laid on the belief that Romania and Italy will actively collaborate in future, too, on the world arena, making their full contribution to the promotion of the policy of detente, disarmament, security, confidence and international collaboration.

Receives New Maltese Ambassador

AU1511204688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2010 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 15/11/1988—Tuesday, November 15, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, received Maurice J. Lubrano, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Malta to Romania.

On the occasion salutes were exchanged, addressed by the Romanian head of state, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the interim president of the Republic of Malta, Paul Xuereb. Expressed in the address presented by the Maltese ambassador is the wish of his country to expand its collaboration with Romania both in the bilateral plane and in the area of international life.

President Nicolae Ceausescu's address of response highlights the Romanian-Maltese relations of friendship and collaboration which grow in the spirit of the understandings agreed upon during the summit interviews, and at the same time places emphasis on the possibilities at hand for further amplifying these relations in the political, economic and cultural planes and in other areas of activity, for the mutual interest of the two countries and peoples, for their greater contribution to the cause of understanding, cooperation and peace in the world.

Pointed out in the address is that under the current circumstances, when the international situation continues to be particularly contradictory and complex, the fundamental issue of the contemporary epoch is halting the arms race, the nuclear one in the first place, and passing on to disarmament measures, providing the right of people to peace, to a free and dignified life. Also pointed out is that Romania attaches great importance to the equal participation of all the countries, irrespective of size or social system, in solving the problems which currently face mankind.

Receives Botswana Ambassador

AU1511204588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2013 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 15/11/1988—On Tuesday, November 15, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, received the ambassador of the Republic of Botswana, Gaotlhaetse Utlwang Sankoloba Matlhabaphiri, on a farewell call at the end of his mission to Romania.

Emphasis was placed on the fine links of collaboration between Romania and Botswana, on existing possibilities to further develop them in various areas of mutual interest.

The ambassador warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu for the support granted to him in fulfilling his mission to Romania.

Receives Ecuador's Mosquera

AU1511205988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2040 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 15/11/1988—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, met on Tuesday, November 15, with Rene Mauge Mosquera, secretary-general of the Communist Party of Ecuador, who is paying a visit to Romania upon an invitation extended by the CC of the RCP.

During the talk, information on current and long-term concerns of the two parties and opinions on current issues of the world situation, of the international communist and working class movement were exchanged.

In that framework, emphasis was placed on the fine links between the RCP and the Communist Party of Ecuador and the determination was expressed to further develop them, in the interest of the two peoples, of collaboration and cooperation between Romania and Ecuador, of the cause of peace and understanding in the world.

Referring to aspects of the international life, Nicolae Ceausescu showed that the current international situation continued to be serious and complex, which calls for intensified action on the part of all progressive and democratic forces everywhere in the fight for the achievement of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in the first place, for the establishment of a climate of detente, security and peace. The significance was also underscored of settling the states of tension and conflict in various parts of the world peacefully, through negotiations.

Furthermore, emphasis was placed on the need for a global solution to underdevelopment-related questions, to the problem of the extremely high foreign debts of the developing countries, for the establishment of a new world economic order, intended to contribute to the faster progress of all countries, of the backward ones in the first place.

During the interview, the determination of the RCP and of the Communist Party of Ecuador was reiterated to further develop their collaboration and solidarity with the Communist and worker parties, on the basis of full equality, respect for each party's right to self-reliantly set its political line, in keeping with specific conditions in each country, without any outside interference. Furthermore, stress was laid on the need to strengthen and develop collaboration with the socialist and social democratic parties, with the national liberation movements, with other progressive forces in the fight for disarmament, democracy, independence, social progress and peace in the world.

The interview was attended by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Receives Argentine Planning Official

AU1811211188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/11/1988—On Friday, November 18, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Bernardo Grinspun, secretary in charge of planning affairs of the Presidency of the Argentine Republic, who is paying a visit to Romania.

During the talk, emphasis was placed on the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Argentina and the mutual wish was expressed to expand those links to identify new forms of collaboration in various areas, more particularly, in the economic field to thus impart further dimensions to the Romanian-Argentinian cooperation, for the mutual benefit, for the benefit of the cause of peace and understanding among peoples.

The interview was attended by Radu Balan, chairman of the State Planning Committee.

Also present was Enrique F. Lupis, Argentina's ambassador in Bucharest.

Congratulates Portugal's Cunhal

AU1511093188 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Nov 88 p 5

[Telegram from RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party]

[Text] To Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the PCP

Esteemed Comrade Alvaro Cunhal: On the occasion of your birthday, I convey to you warm greetings and best wishes for good health, working energy, happiness, and complete success in your activity devoted to the promotion of the aspirations for justice and social progress of the Portuguese Communists and of the Portuguese working people.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

Hails Greek Leader Florakis

AU2111150588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Nov 88 p 5

[Message by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to Kharilaos Florakis, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece]

[Text] To Comrade Kharilaos Florakis, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece:

On the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Greece, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the Romanian Communists, and on my own behalf, I want to extend warm congratulations to you, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, and to all party members, as well as best wishes for success in the activity you are carrying out to promote the basic interests of the workers class and of all working people, and to achieve their vital aspirations for social justice and progress, and for well-being and peace.

I want to express the conviction that the positive relations of friendship and solidarity, as well as cooperation between the RCP and Communist Party of Greece, will continue to develop and constantly strengthen in the interests of the friendly Romanian and Greek peoples and to the benefit of the general cause of socialism, peace, disarmament, security, and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

Salutes Lebanese Leader Hawi

AU1011144888 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Nov 88 p 3

[Cable from President Nicolae Ceausescu to George Hawi, general secretary of the Lebanese Communist Party, on the latter's birthday]

[Text] To Comrade George Hawi, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party,

On your 50th birthday, I take pleasure in extending to you warmest congratulations and heartfelt wishes for health and new successes in your activity.

On this occasion, we again express the conviction that the relations between the RCP and the Lebanese Communist Party will further enhance and develop, to the benefit of strengthening friendship between the peoples of Romania and Lebanon, and in the interest of the overall cause of peace, progress, and cooperation in the world.

Greets Yemeni Congress

AU1211182888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1812 GMT 12 Nov 88

["Message of Salute"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Sanaa, AGERPRES, 12/11/1988—On behalf of the Romanian Communist Party, of its general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, the participants in the fourth session of the General People's Congress of the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR] were conveyed a warm friendly salute and feelings of deep esteem and militant solidarity by the RCP representative Gheorghe Pana, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Committee for People's Councils Affairs.

The presence of the delegation of the Romanian Communist Party at proceedings of the congress' session is an expression of the fine ties between the two countries, the message of salute reads adding: We will further work to ensure an ascending course to these relations, in the interest of both countries, of the cause of international peace, security, understanding and cooperation.

After highlighting that the Romanian people is committed to the vast activity of implementing the programme for the country's economic and social growth, the message of salute reiterates the stand of the RCP and of the Romanian state on the main international issues.

In conclusion the wish is conveyed of success in the implementation of the decisions to be adopted, for the benefit and happiness of the Yemeni people.

Notes Netherlands Anniversary

AU2111143888 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romania 18 Nov 88 p 5

[Telegram from the RCP Central Committee to the Netherlands Communist Party Central Committee on the party's 70th founding anniversary]

[Text] To the Central Committee of the Netherlands Communist Party:

On the 70th anniversary of the creation of the Netherlands Communist Party, we convey to you and to all the Netherlands Communists, warm greetings and best wishes for success in the activity carried out by your party for the benefit of the Netherlands people.

We take this opportunity to express our belief that the relations of friendship and solidarity between our parties will continue to develop in the future, too, in the joint interest of the cause of peace, security, and international cooperation.

The RCP Central Committee

Leaders' Public Appearances for 13-19 Nov

AU1911194188 [Editorial Report] Romania media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 13-19 Nov period (sourceline given in parentheses):

A scientific session was held in Bucharest on 18 November to mark the 70th anniversary of Romania's unification. The session was attended by Emil Bobu, Dumitru Popescu, Stefan Pascu, Ion Popescu-Puturi, Ilie Ceausescu, Ion Ursu, Suzana Gadea, Ioan Totu, and Nicolae Constantin. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1643 GMT 18 Nov 88)

Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu and Deputy Prime Minister Ion Dinca met with Hungarian Industry Minister Frigyes Berecz. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1741 GMT 18 Nov 88)

Deputy Prime Minister Neculai Ibanescu and Deputy Foreign Minister Olimpia Solomonescu presented condolences at the Embassy of Japan on Takeo Miki's death. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1839 GMT 17 Nov 88)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received the credentials of Zambian Ambassador Anderson Henry Kaluya, on 14 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1914 GMT 14 Nov 88) On 15 November President Nicolae Ceausescu received the credentials of Maltese Ambassador Maurice J. Lubrano (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2010 GMT 15 Nov 88) met with Ecuador CP leader Rene Mauge Mosquera (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2040 GMT 15 Nov 88) and received the outgoing ambassador of Botswana. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2013 GMT 15 Nov 88) On 17 November, President Nicolae Ceausescu left for Berlin (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0821 GMT 17 Nov 88) called on Erich Honecker (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1737 GMT 17 Nov 88) began official talks with Erich Honecker (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2029 GMT 17 Nov) and attended dinner given in his honor by Erich Honecker. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2156 GMT 17 Nov) On 18 November, President Ceausescu ended his official talks with Erich Honecker in Berlin (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 18 Nov 88) returned home from his GDR visit (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1338 GMT 18 Nov 88) and received Argentine planning official Bernardo Grinspun. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 18 Nov 88)

Ion Dinca, PEC member, met with Hungarian minister of industry, Frigyes Berecz, in Bucharest on 15 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1947 GMT 15 Nov) On 19 November, Ion Dinca signed as long-term cooperation program with Hungarian industry minister, Berecz. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1651 GMT 19 Nov 88)

Reportage on Demonstrations in Pristina

Kosovo Press Notes 18 Nov Protests

AU2311104188 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 19 Nov 88 p 1, 8-9

[Report by "team of RILINDJA correspondents" on gatherings in Pristina on 18 November: "Demands for Equality and Support for LCY Policy"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday in Pristina, from the early hours of the morning until late at night, hundreds of thousands of workers, villagers, pupils, and children from all parts of Kosovo came to gather in Pristina for what was called a rally of brotherhood and unity, in order to express their dissatisfaction with the decisions made at the most recent meeting of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. The first groups of workers began to arrive on foot and assembled in an organized manner in the center of Pristina. They first came from the Kisnica, Novo Brdo, and Feronikel mines, and then from Janjevo, Urosevac, Gniljane, Suva Reka, Podujevo, Prizren, Pec, Djakovica, Vucitrn, and other Kosovo towns. All the columns of workers had at their heads photographs of Tito and flags of the SFRY, the SR of Serbia, the LCY, the Albanian and Turkish nationalities, as well as the miners' banner. All the groups also carried banners praising Tito's achievements, LCY policy, brotherhood and unity, and the equality of peoples and nationalities. They shouted the slogans: "Long live the achievements of Comrade Tito!," "Long live the 1974 Constitution!," "Long live brotherhood and unity!," "We do not want resignations!," "Annul the meeting!" (referring to the most recent meeting of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee), and so forth. The workers, citizens, and pupils began to parade through Pristina's streets, and paused for a while in front of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee building on Marshal Tito Street, where they were addressed by Adem Hasani, president of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Committee, who asked them to move to the Pristina soccer stadium, where all the officials they wanted to hear would address them. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Shouts, Banners, Songs

The following slogans were heard in the streets of Pristina yesterday, in front of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee building, in the Boro i Ramiz center, and in the city stadium: "The people are with you," "Equality—not treachery," "Annul the meeting," "We do not want resignations under pressure," "We do not want resignations, no, no, no," "We are with you," "Tito—party," "Long live the LCY Central Committee," "Long live the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee," "Long live Tito's achievements," "Long live Azem Vlasi," "Long live Kacusa Jasari," "Long live Voja Zajic," "Long live Sveta Dolasevic," "Long live Stipe Suvar," "We will not surrender Kacusa," "We will surrender our lives, but we will not surrender Yugoslavia," "Long live the workers class," "Long live brotherhood and unity," "Long live the 1974 Constitution," "We want equality," "We want unity," "We are Tito," "Long live Pristina University," "We will surrender our lives, but we will not surrender Azem," "Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia," "Kosovo is Kosovo," "Metohija—no way," "Azem, here we are," "Stipe Suvar," "Josip Vrhovec," "Ekrem Arifi," "Long live Kosovo," "We do not want pressure," "Tomorrow again," "We elected you," "We love Azem," "We do not want weapons, let us make progress," and others.

The following banners were carried, "Long live the LCY" (in Albanian and Serbo-Croatian), "Long live brotherhood and unity," (also in both languages), "Comrade Tito, we swear to you," (Albanian and Serbo-Croatian), "Long live the SFRY (in both languages), "Long live the LCY Central Committee," ""We do not want resignations without evidence," "Long live Comrade Tito's achievements,"...

The following songs were sung: "Comrade Tito, We Swear to You," "We Have Pledged Our Word," "Comrade Tito, White Violet," and others.

From wherever they came, the workers and citizens held aloft the flags of the SFRY and the SR of Serbia, party flags, and the flags of our peoples and nationalities. There were also many pictures of Comrade Tito of all sizes. [boxed passage concludes]

Effective Action Calls For a United Front

At about 1100, the working people and citizens, who numbered about 5,000 and who had earlier stood in front of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee building, went to the Boro i Ramiz center and demanded the appearance of the provincial leadership, especially Azem Vlasi, Kacusa Jasari, and Vojislav Zajic, emphasizing that they would not accept their removal from the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. [passage omitted]

Kacusa Jasari, in speaking to those present, said that it has always been a pleasure for me to meet the workers class, but I have always wanted to talk to them in their workplaces. This time, too, I would have liked it to have been that way, and not as you have done on this occasion. As for the resignations, she went on to tell those present that you have been misinformed and that you have misunderstood the situation, because you have imagined that we are going to leave the political scene. However, she said, this is not the case, because I am still where I wish to be, in the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. (K. Jasari's speech was interrupted with shouts of "President, president!" and "We do not want any of you to resign, because we elected you ourselves!") Kacusa Jasari went on to say that we are implementing the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee plenum in Kosovo, as elsewhere in the

country. The provincial committee has not acted under pressure, and it undertook tasks at yesterday's meeting in order to increase the effectiveness of the Kosovo LC organs and bring them up to date.

The workers class has always been in favor of brotherhood and unity and togetherness, Kacusa Jasari continued, adding that if this is the case, then we must commit ourselves even more strongly to solving the crisis. She went on to discuss the criteria of the LCY Central Committee, according to which LCY Central Committee members should not hold other posts, such as in the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. Many individuals will be released from their jobs in other party organizations as well. She advocated a united front in combating behavior and statements that oppose the LCY line, because we have been divided recently (shouts from the crowd: "They are divided!"). We must secure a better and quieter life for all peoples and nationalities. We must also struggle to stem Serbian and Montenegrin emigration from Kosovo. The situation has become very politicized because of disinformation and articles in a section of the press, but we must not take to the streets under any circumstances (shouts from the crowd: "We are not on the streets!"). A number of workers have come here from other towns in the province during working hours. This is not a good thing, because it is a form of pressure on the provincial committee. A worker interrupted at this point and asked, "Is not tomorrow's rally in Belgrade, in which millions are supposed to take part, a form of pressure on Yugoslavia and its leadership?" Kacusa Jasari answered that the Belgrade SAWP is organizing tomorrow's rally and that the two events cannot be connected with each other. [passage omitted]

Hetem Bajrami, a worker from the Ramiz Sadiku construction enterprise, said that it is regrettable that we have to respond in this way at such a difficult time, when we wonder how to secure our daily bread. A single person is to blame for this, one who has become a leader and who is trying to limit the rights of a nationality which has supplied victims for freedom.

The crowds did not support this speech and it was met with whistling, while a group of workers took hold of the speaker by the arm and removed him from the rostrum. Kacusa Jasari, opposing this speaker, stressed that speeches of such a kind cannot be allowed, and that we are against accusations of every kind. You are faithful to the LCY line and to Tito's road, and you have given these things your full support. I will leave the hall if anyone speaks in this manner. (There followed applause and total support for Kacusa's words from the masses, and the crowd added, "The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee did not vote for your resignation!"). She went on to discuss a range of specific tasks ensuing from the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee meeting the previous evening. She also said that we will fill all the free positions in the Presidium immediately. These spots must be taken by able people who enjoy the full support of all the peoples and nationalities in Kosovo and the country as a whole. We want an organization of capable people so that we will be able to lead effective efforts on a single front of Albanians, Serbs, and all those who live in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

'Tranquility' in Pristina on 22 Nov

AU2211150788 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1400 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Excerpt] It has been a day of normal life and work in the streets of Pristina today, and, as our correspondents report, in other communal centers of Kosovo. Tranquillity has reigned in Pristina and in all other communes. Provincial and communal activists are among citizens, schoolchildren, and students who are pursuing their everyday tasks. As yesterday, there have been no work stoppages in labor organizations and no interruptions of classes in schools. [passage omitted]

Leaders, Causes of Protests Assessed

LD2211231388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1604 GMT 22 Nov

["Kosovo Is Quiet, But Uncertainty Remains"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Pristina, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—There are currently nowhere in Kosovo nor in its capital, Pristina, signs of a recurrence, in any form or to any extent whatsoever, of the "recent events"—as the several days of mass demonstrations by Albanian young people and Kosovo children are euphemistically termed here. The true nature of these demonstrations was skillfully disguised by slogans of alleged devotion to Tito and the party.

Probably only subsequent analyses will be able to state clearly, without beating around the bush, what these demonstrations were about and to whom they referred. For the moment the true names remain concealed beneath public declarations, just as the real aims of the demonstrations were hidden behind a facade. Everything that has happened since the middle of last week, and which appears to have ended late last night, has left deep traces, an atmosphere of tension, and even greater division and uncertainty. The political action which was embarked upon after the demonstrators' dramatic gatherings and meetings in the center of Pristina on Friday [18 November] and Saturday is being continued all over the province, involving all available activists.

In Pristina preparations are underway for the plenum of the provincial committee (PC) of the party at which — "because all the necessary conditions are being created", as has been stressed over the last few days in the speeches by the leaders to the masses of demonstrators, and on the last occasion at a meeting of the political aktiv of Pristina University—the motives, reasons, causes, and background of the mass demonstrations (whether of protest, (?pressure), or "support" remains to be seen) will be considered in the course of 5 days from Thursday [24 November] to Monday.

This debate was heralded today by Vukasin Jokanovic, president of the provincial Assembly, at a session of all three chambers at which Kosovo approved the adoption of the amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution. He said that the LC PC "will soon make an assessment," but he did not say when this could be expected.

It was also said in the Assembly today that the illegal activity of the Albanian nationalists and separatists is not diminishing, and it is obvious that it has also extended to "mass single-nationality gatherings." These illegal activities are capable of cropping up at any moment, and the provincial leadership and its grassroots activists are more than conscious of this, because they are daily confronted with this fact everywhere in Kosovo.

Who is carrying out all these illegal activities and where should one look to hinder the activity of their cells and centers, their "activists" and "leaders," is another question. However, settling circumstances in Kosovo, reducing tension, and removing uncertainty, or rather its causes, and what is implied by "creating the necessary conditions," cannot be done in a day. But work on this needs to be done urgently, and it imposes above all the obligation that an answer be given to the question: Where is and who constitutes the underground of nationalists and separatists?

According to what can be learned from the circles which wish to and are prepared to give this vital answer, perhaps there will not be a long wait for it.

Interior Secretary Bans Gatherings

AU2311142588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Milisav Milic report from Pristina]

[Text] Rahman Morina, provincial secretary for internal affairs, has issued the order banning mass gatherings and forbidding any larger number of people to march in groups and to approach public institutions in Pristina and other towns in the province as of today. Citizens are asked to comply with this order, otherwise the empowered officials of the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Kosovo will take legal and other measures.

The purpose of the order issued by the provincial secretary for internal affairs is to prevent further cases of violating public law and order and to (?protect the endangered) constitutional order. The order was issued on the basis of the assessment made by the Kosovo Presidency that rallies and protests by Albanians in the provinces resulted in an emergency situation [vanredne prilike]. The decision that the provincial secretary for internal affairs should issue this order was made by the Provincial Executive Council.

The measures envisaged by this order should not affect normal public and cultural life in Kosovo.

22 Nov Speeches at Serbian LC Conference Noted

LD2211232788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1048 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—The Serbian LC conference which is laying down the tasks for economic and social reform continued in Belgrade today. The basis of the debate concerns the standpoints proposed by the conference and the report on this subject submitted yesterday, the 1st day of the conference, by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium.

The first speaker in the debate today was Dragutin Marsesnic. He described the impending economic reform as the most radical move in our socialist development. This is because the people have initiated it and the leaders have nothing to do but make it possible for the workers to live from their work. He pointed out that the reform should not be allowed to suffer the fate of previous reforms because if we had had more strength to carry out the 1965 reform perhaps this one would not even have been necessary. [passage omitted]

In connection with the events in Kosovo, Aleksandar Bakocevic warned about repeated attempts to play down the real nature of the demonstrations in Kosovo at which slogans such as "We don't want constitutional changes" and "Kosovo—republic" are chanted. The first slogan is politically very close to the second, which emerged in 1981. Therefore, both are of a counterrevolutionary origin. [passage omitted]

Bakocevic then went on to note that there are still statements, speeches at meetings, articles, and editorial comments which encourage the Serbophobic campaign, evidence of which was heard yesterday. There is no doubt that editorial boards as well as publishers of papers where such commentaries appear are responsible for this.

However, it is true, Bakocevic believes, that journalists are not to blame for the many untruths perpetrated in recent months. Let us remember the false information and accusations that were expounded recently at the Belgrade International Press Center for foreign journalists by a member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. Or, let us remember Stanovnik's recent statement in the United States. Instead of carrying on a democratic and cultured dialogue, Bakocevic added, these and various other people impose on us the rules of catch-as-catch-can in the political game. We must firmly oppose this in the future.

Slobodan Unkovic stressed that the worsening economic situation in Yugoslavia represents a massive attack on people's living standards and that the grave social problems represent an exceptional danger when preparing a favorable political climate for introducing economic reform. [passage omitted]

In Unkovic's words, Belgrade University has been asking for years for the counterrevolution in Kosovo to be defeated. We have accepted all the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session in the expectation that efficient measures will follow and that in a week or 2 the responsibility of both the individuals and of the bodies will be ascertained. Marathon sessions, held mainly behind closed doors, however, have brought about a situation in which today we have doubts about whether the provincial LC is prepared to implement the adopted conclusions, he said. [passage omitted]

Slavko Popovic devoted some of his speech to Kosovo. He asked: Has it really been necessary to spend so much time trying to agree on what should be done? In that time, Albanian separatism has achieved nearly all of its aims. We are where we are because of our indecisiveness, Popovic said.

The principal condition for urgent democratization within the LC is cadre renewal, Miodrag Koprivica stressed, citing as an example recent changes in the Vojvodina leadership, which failed to heed demands by workers and citizens. However, the events in Vojvodina are still misunderstood.

Commenting on the events in Kosovo, Koprivica was adament that the genocide perpetrated in the province has undermined the country's foundations and that the events of the last few days constitute resistance to the LCY's policy regardless of the vociforous support for that same LCY. The top party and state leaders have lost credibility among the people, he said. The working people and citizens in all environments are calling for urgent action, for we have had enough compromises and vacillations since 1981. [passage ommitted]

The LC has unfortunately ceased to be the working class vanguard in the right sense of the word, Pero Lalovic said. He went on to note that this is due to disunity in the LC and quarrels among the leadership. [passage omitted]

As far as the latest events in Kosovo are concerned, the fact is, Dragosavac said, that it was my colleagues, the miners, who first decided to march on Pristina. These miners were manipulated, Dragosavac stated categorically. One should see how hard they work to earn their bread—at times at minus 36 degrees [centigrade]—to understand how easily they succumb to manipulation. The management of the mine [Trepca mining complex in Kosovo] was in their offices as miners prepared to march on Pristina.

Dragosavac added that in his area there was virtually no political activity by the LC during the public debate on constitutional changes. [passage omitted]

Like many before him, Slobodan Dugalic turned to the situaton in Kosovo and pointed out that problems related to the stuation in the province are prominent in Kraljevo, which is where he comes from, because a great number of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo have been moving there. This, of course, requires additional investment in the infrastructure and on health and education. Pressure on employment has also increased. Nevertheless, they are welcomed, like those who came during the war from the north. But because of that, Dugalic thinks, we have the right to ask that the problems in Kosovo be solved more quickly and efficiently.

The Serbian leadership is being falsely accused, Radovan Stankovic stressed, of wanting to cut down administation, which is not true. We are against administration which wants to rule. We are asking for it to be organized more rationally in order to contribute more to development. He advocated a policy in which dismissals and recalls would not be regarded as purges but as cadre renewal.

At the suggestion by the chairman that the greatest possible number of delegates should give up their speeches, i.e., should not contribute them, Nebojsa Savic proposed that this should apply especially to professional politicans, because he said, we have known for years what they think and what they tell us. Other delegates should be given a chance to speak, Savic said, so that the conference document receives (the approval) of the working class. According to Borisav Srebric's assessment, the departure point of the proposed document, that the key Yugoslav problem is the administrative-etatistic blockade of self-management subjects, outlines precisely the sociopolitical framework of the economic reform, and that it so renders a discussion on some questions inappropriate. A question which is frequently raised is whether the reform will lead to the restoration of capitalism. Srebric pointed to some acute dangers for the success of the reform, such as insufficiently implemented economic compulsion [prinuda] and interest-rate policy. He then turned to events in Kosovo.

According to Srebric, the provincial leadership made a mistake because it did not use the debate on changes to the republican Constitution to develop a united front aong all socialist forces. Moreover, by its passivity it virutally legalized the activity of Albanian separatists and nationalists. Slogans about Tito, the party, and Yugoslavia are only transparent camouflage, Srebric concluded, stressing that the constitutional changes are a unique test of the Kosovo LC's ideological maturity, political capability, and its ability to take action. [passage omitted]

Laura Fodor drew the attention of delegates at the conference to the proclamation of the Vojvodina youth "For Yugoslavia—my state," in which they advocate the complete political, economic, and social renewal of society, and which ends with the appeal "We are thinking together even when we think differently." [transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 11 and 12 not received]

Zika Jovanovic, the delegate from Crna Trava, devoted most of his speech to criticizing the inappropriate development policy, which does not aim at even regional development in the Republic. In Crna Trava, as in other border municipalities, too, the population has been drastically reduced. The first asphalt road in this municipality was built in 1980, and the first productive job made available in 1983. [passage omitted]

Speaking finally about the situation in Kosovo, Jovanovic said that radical changes are needed in the provincial leadership and asked how it is possible that committed counterrevolutionary leaders are still at large in the province.

Resources invested in the Yugoslav People's Army give society a multiple return, Vidak Vujovic stressed. A large number of soldiers acquire training skills in various professions. There are over 10,000 of these in the Belgrade and Nis Army Districts alone. [passage omitted]

Mihajlo Hegedis stressed that we should work for the kind of Yugoslavia that the delegates of the first and second session of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ] had in mind, which gives power to a rich working class and not to a working class dependent on social assistance. Hegedis also advocated a Yugoslavia with one constitution and a single Yugoslav LC.

Hegedis also dealt with the issue of villas and stressed that they are being built, according to him, by highly respectable members of the LC who are, however, persuading people that they should save more and spend less, perhaps so that more is left for them.

Sadik Vlasiliu spoke about the problems arising in the business activity and development plans of the Kosovo power industry, which, as he said, delivers one-third of the power that it produces to other parts of the country. He believes that those who produce power surpluses are losing out in the existing economic conditions. Vlasiliu also stated his view of the struggle against nationalism. I feel it is my task to fight among the Albanians against Albanian nationalism, he said. He demanded that everybody else should also fight against his own kind of nationalism. [passage omitted with indistinct portion]

The latest demonstrations are the work of separatists. This is also clearly evident from the slogans which are being chanted and from the flags which are being carried around, among which there is no Serbian flag. Stoiljkovic asked asked: Can one speak about the existence of Yugoslavia if there is no Serbia or if there is no Kosovo as part of this republic? [passage omitted]

Just as Kosovo is a festering sore to us, workers are also aching from the constant stories about relieving the economy without any effects, Nebojsa Savic said, and proposed that immediately after the conference a 70 to 30 ratio for the benefit of the economy be determined when allocating income. [sentence as received] Speaking about the situation in Kosovo, Savic was clear and brief—the situation is at a point when it can no longer be put right by legal measures or action by legal institutions and organs. The reason lies in the Albanians' lack of will to introduce any kind of changes, Savic said; and here at the conference, too, the division of the Kosovo delegates in interpreting the events there is evident. [passage omitted]

Todorovic said that in Vojvodina there is still a lot going on behind closed doors while "old" officials continue to be shy about speaking of the tasks which they are obliged to carry out. [passage omitted]

The isolaton of Vojvodina has also had repercussions on the constant increase in pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. The key to solving the problems in Kosovo has been in fact Vojvodina for a long time. It was Vojvodina which was used as the excuse for a long time when the action by Albanian separatists in Kosovo had to be crushed. The responsibility of the policy by the proponents of autonomy lies in the fact that it has been traitorous both to its people as well as to brotherhood and unity as a whole. Autonomy has not been interpreted as the right of the working people and citizens but rather as the position of power over the people.

Todorovic pointed to one absurd aspect and consequence of such a policy. The Sava and the Danube, he said, are a natural link in all European countries. In Serbia, however, apart from Belgrade and Sremska Mitrovica, no other town has spread to their other banks but instead grows only on one bank. Todorovic proposed that the Serbian LC should in the future be a unified cadre base for all functions both in the provinces and in the Republic under the motto that one should be striving for capable people.

Challenged by Todorovic's and some other speeches about autonomy-mongering, Bela Sagi asked to be allowed to speak. He asked: Is it a bad thing to be a proponent of autonomy? I am one of them but within the framework of a unified Serbia. One could be a proponent of autonomy within Serbia and at the same time work honestly and in line with communist principles. We are not extreme proponents of autonomy, and in line with communist principles. We are not extreme proponents of autonomy, and there is no need to label us so, Sagi concluded.

Chairman Petar Skundric resolved this argument by saying that the autonomy-mongering criticized in the debate was a different kind from that of Sagi's.

Dissatisfied with the lines of argument of almost 80 of the delegates who spoke at the conference, a young woman, Mila Lojpur, criticized the fact that the debate abounds in "dry" declarations and the repetition of well-known phrases, and she observed that a large number of delegates are not in their places. All this led her to

say, joking slightly, that the delegates could have mailed in their contributions, so that the Central Committee Presidium might consider them and afterward adopt the conclusions over the telephone.

Mila Lojpur drew attention to the fact that young people want to be in the forefront in resolving the dificulties in which we find ourselves but that there are no conditions for this. She also mentioned that only 15 percent of young people are taking part in this conference, and very few of them spoke. She advocated a unified educational system throughout the country, and until this comes about, a unified system in Serbia at the least. [passage omitted]

Moma Trajkovic asked: What is it that feeds the continued counterrevolution in Kosovo, and where in all this is the LC losing out? Trajkovic added that in Yugoslavia the problem of Kosovo has still not been properly understood, or perhaps the situation suits some people.

Kosovo is a Yugoslav problem, Tajkovic stressed, because it is precisely there that the existence of the state of Yugoslavia, its sovereignty and territorial integrity, have been attacked most drastically and most brutally. The 1974 Constitution made it possible for eight states and eight national bureaucracies to exist in Yugoslavia. The national Albanian bureaucracy saw its chance in a Yugoslavia divided like this, and it behaved as if the province was exclusively for the Albanians who live in it.

Some of the interests and goals of the Albanian separatists coincided with the interests of this national bureaucracy. As a result, Trajkovic was explicit, it can freely be said that in Kosovo Albanian nationalism is an institutionalized nationalism. In a word, we permitted the state of Kosovo to be an instrument for implementing the goals of the separatists.

The provincial leadership, Trajkovic said, instead of grasping the essence of the problems and coming to grips with the causes of the counterrevolution, is fighting to maintain the status quo. The opportunistic careerist behavior of Serbo-Montenegrin cadres who have lost the trust of their people a long time ago is undoubtedly also a contributing factor. These bureaucratic forces, Trajkovic said, consider Albanian nationalism to be operating underground.

Instead of the present Kosovo leadership fighting to free a section of Albanian youth from the grip of Albanian separatism, Trajkovic continued, the policy which it pursues in fact generates new enemies and isolates young people who were under age in 1981. Instead of mobilizing the great potential of progressive forces among the Albanian nationality, the political bureaucracy manipulates that progressive force.

The problem does not lie in ordinary people, workers, and students, Trajkovic pointed out, and this should be openly said to the Albanian, Serbian, and Montenegrin peoples. The bureaucratic forces which have grown to unheard-of proportions in Kosovo are the problem.

Let the Albanian nationality see how its national bureaucrats live. They have settled down in the most beautiful villas and apartments, in luxurious areas and excursion spots throughout Kosovo. They drive expensive cars, while hardly anyone in their families has no job. On the the other hand, a large number of families of Albanian nationality live on the edge of subsistence, yet the nationalists are telling them that the Serbian people are to blame for their hard life.

Members of the Serbian and Montenegrin bureaucracy from Kosovo are also nibbling at the fruits of this policy. The moment they have the opportunity, they settle down in beautiful villas and apartments throughout Belgrade, forgetting the troubles of their people in Kosovo. He asked: Are not both of these things a betrayal of the nation, the nationality and the working class? And should such a policy be defended today?

Immediately following the last speaker in the debate, Ljiljana Bulatovic took the rostrum. Reacting to statements made by two Kosovo delegates, she said that she can no longer listen to the interpretations of the recent events in Kosovo which are contrary to party documents and above all not true. I have to react to the impudent repetition, from this rostrum, too, of assessments and confusions which we have already left behind. Surely it is clear what is going on in Kosovo and what is counterrevolution, Bulatovic stated in conclusion.

Chairman Petar Skundric said that the standpoints of the Serbian Central Committee and LC on these issues are crystal clear. The fact that some individuals do not share these views and do not think in the same way and wish to say so, Skundric said, is their right, while our right is to react. There is, however, no need to preach to the converted, Skundric said.

Closing today's session, Petar Skundric said that 81 delegates have spoken so far, 45 have submitted their statements in writing, while 2 have withdrawn.

Tomorrow, 142 delegates have registered to speak. It will be the last day of the conference.

Conference Begins 3d Day

AU2311084788 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 23 Nov

[Zivojin Jerotijevic report on the 3d day of the Serbian LC conference at the Sava Center in Belgrade]

[Text] When Chairman Zoran Sokolovic opened the meeting ½ hour ago, he was able to say that 80 delegates had spoken during the last 2 days, that 75 had presented their speeches in writing, and that there are 142 delegates remaining on the list of people to speak.

The first participant in the debate today, Milovan Mladenovic, insisted upon an energetic transformation of the LC in the sense that it should enable itself to recognize and overcome all resistance. On the other hand, Mladenovic said, our economy needs financial consolidation and social support. Dragana Savic devoted a larger part of her speech to Kosovo. She said that it is unclear to her why Kosovo is still poor when it receives $1 million from the federal fund each day. Stojan Kukic pointed to the huge losses resulting from differences in the dinar exchange rate which make economic operations difficult and [words indistinct] in Kikinda, which is where he comes from. At this moment, Momcilo Plecas is speaking about the kind of LC we want. This was the report from the Sava Center.

Smiljkovic Addresses 19 Nov Belgrade Rally

AU2211122488 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1109 GMT 19 Nov 88

[Speech by Rados Smiljkovic, president of the Belgrade LC City Committee and member of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia, at the brotherhood and unity rally held in Belgrade on 19 November—live]

[Text] Comrades [indistinct shouting and chanting], Belgrade has always risen to its feet whenever justice and freedom have been threatened anywhere in Yugoslavia, Europe, and the world. [distant shouting] This place where we are holding this rally today is the symbol of our town's unbreakable love of freedom, patriotism, and revolutionariness. It is the place where the first rally of workers and students was held before the war against the breakthrough of fascism into our country. On 27 March 1941, in the darkness of an enslaved and discouraged Europe, the spark of freedom was alight Belgrade—it refused to be a slave even at the price of graves. [shouts of "That is right!"] It is from here that Tito, at the head of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, led our peoples into the liberation war and socialist revolution. [shouts of "That is right"" followed by indistinct shouts] This city is a city of suffering, a heroic city and a city of victory. It was here that the foundation for the first joint state of the southern Slavs was laid exactly 70 years ago, the state for which our grandfathers shed their blood from the Ionian Sea to Carinthia. [cheers and applause followed by chanting of "Yugoslavia!"]

It is only natural that today freedom-loving Belgrade has risen to its feet once again against the threats to the future of our children. Its workers, Communists, young people, veterans, and intelligentsia are proud of being able to show before all of Yugoslavia that they are true Yugoslavs, firm fighters for freedom, peace, justice, and for the brotherhood and unity of all our peoples and nationalities. We Belgrade people are open to anybody who has self-managing socialism as his orientation, and brotherhood and unity in his heart. [shouts of "That is right!" followed by indistinct cheers]

Just as the Sava at this place flows into the great European Danube, let our struggle for the general reform of Yugoslav society lead us into the modern currents of the progressive world. In order to be able to truly consider ourselves part of that world, we must first overcome Albanian fascist-like separatism. [shout of "That is right!" followed by applause and indistinct chanting] Until we enable people in Kosovo to live freely, all democratic achievements in other parts of our country are incomplete and face an insecure future. Albanian nationalists are wrong if they think that they will gradually achieve their dark aims. The treacherous collaboration with all enemies of Yugoslavia, both foreign and domestic, will not help them. They have attacked the foundation of our joint homeland and they must know that we shall not allow them to do that. [indistinct shouts followed by applause]

Conformists, opportunists, and advocates of disunity in the LC leaderships serve Albanian separatist aims. Therefore, they are responsible for the penetration and long duration of Albanian separatism. Thus, we demand that the decisions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session be consistently and completely implemented. We demand that the differentiation in the Kosovo leadership be completed and that the most progressive Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, and others who are ready to fight for self-managing socialist Yugoslavia and Serbia come to head its organizations and organs. [shouts of "That is right!" followed by applause]

There must be no room among the leaders for these people who allowed the enemy to take away peaceful sleep and carefree games from children. [shouts of "That is right!"]

Comrades, unrestrained powerful people who are used to arrogantly ruling over the destiny of our country and people are sharply attacking people's rallies have even demonstrated readiness to prevent them by force. However, nobody has the right to describe this most democratic form of people's participation in politics as street rallies. In its social essence socialism is an all-people movement and [words indistinct] the workers class with its communist vanguard. It is its original right to decide on its destiny. The workers class and peoples have taken a historic step forward in the defense of their future. [indistinct shouts and cheers]

The leadership of the LCY and the SFRY is obliged to make decisions and act against those people who take advantage of their positions and set up anti-Yugoslav coalitions. [distant chanting] Those people who divide and estrange peoples cannot remain at leading posts. It is unacceptable to be under the Yugoslav flag and slander any of its peoples and blacken its revolution. [shouts of "That is right!"]

Comrades, the time has long since passed when the untrue and unacceptable slogan Weak Serbia—Strong Yugoslavia could exist. [cheers, applause] The leadership

of the region from which attacks against the unity of Yugoslavia, particularly Serbia, and against the Yugoslav People's Army are coming has no right to keep silent about that. To spread fear of Serbia under the present conditions means anti-Yugoslavism, because throughout their history when they defended themselves, Serbs also defended others. [shouts of "That is right!"]

Comrades, let us do everything to complete the changes in the political system of Serbia and Yugoslavia. Serbia must become a sovereign republic over its entire territory. [shouts of "That is right!" followed by applause] There is no power that can prevent us from doing so. [cheers] The entire progressive Yugoslav public is with us, and now the LCY and SFRY organs are as well. This must also be known to those people abroad who plot against our common homeland, thus serving their narrow interests. [cheers]

Economic and political changes in Yugoslavia and Serbia will not be stopped by anti-Yugoslav and anti-Serbian propaganda that is coming from some communities in our society. [indistinct shouting] We expect Communists, particularly those in the leaderships, to prevent individuals from spreading lies about Serbia and the Serbian people. The people of Serbia ask for nothing more than other republics have—they do not demand a differently set up Yugoslavia or Serbia larger than it already is [Smiljkovic is interrupted by shouts of "That is right!"], but they do demand that the country be united and that there be more socialism in it. They demand that economic reform be carried out so that conditions are created for every man to be able to live from his work in a better and richer way.

Comrades, there is nobody else here but us to solve these difficulties that have hit us. We are those people who have been pushed forward by time to find the way out of the crisis, and we can do so only if we follow Tito's road of brotherhood and unity. In doing so we have no right to withdraw before anyone. [shouts of "That is right!" followed by indistinct chanting] This is why Yugoslavia, a community of equal peoples and nationalities, is our basic orientation. Serbia must be united and Kosovo must really become its part in which Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks, and others will live in equality and brotherhood together with Albanians. Yugoslavia has a future only if all parts live in a progressive, stable way. [shouts of "That is right!"] The Serbian people have nobody closer to it than the peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia. It was with them that it shared the destiny of the past, and it is only with them that it can create the future. [shouts of "That is right!"]

Let us be proud of what the best sons of our peoples have done for us. Let us do everything to be worthy of them so that our descendants can be proud of us.

Comrade Yugoslavs, we have no right to conflicts among ourselves, and we have no right to be silent about them. We are obliged to unite our forces, which have never been greater, in order to develop our homeland to suit our people and in the interest of the workers. We can do this, we want to do this, and we must do this. [cheers, applause] In the struggle for sociopolitical changes we have no right to haggle with opponents. We must win. [cheers] Throughout our history we were most successful when overcoming the greatest resistance and hurdling the most difficult obstacles. [shouts of "That is right""]

We have entered the time when creating history has become the cause of all our people. Only the people should have a say about it because the destiny of society is in their hands. [shouts of "That is right!"]

Long live the workers class headed by the LCY. [shouts of "Long live!"]

Long live the SFRY. [shouts of "Long live!"]

Long live the united SR of Serbia, the fraternal community of the Serbian and other peoples and nationalities. [indistinct chanting]

Svabic Speech to Unity Meeting

AU2211110888 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1139 GMT 19 Nov 88

[Speech by Mihajlo Svabic, member of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia and the SFRY Council of the Federation, at the brotherhood and unity meeting in Belgrade on 19 November—live]

[Text] Our concern over the misfortunes of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples and population in Kosovo has brought us together here in this million-strong city. It has brought us together here to tell them as well as other people that we will remain persistent and resolute to the end until we eliminate all traces of inequality of the Serbs in Kosovo. It was at this place where 54 years ago the blood of young workers and students, members of the Union of the Yugoslav Communist Youth, was shed in the struggle against fascists [word indistinct]. This was only one of the struggles through which we carried out the revolution, liberated the country, advanced to construction, and achieved great results. But then something went very wrong, and everything went downhill. Today we are facing problems we would not even have dreamed of until recently. Our grandfathers and fathers have already fought and died to create and preserve their own state. Our generation started the struggle to restore the lost state bare-handed, making enormous sacrifices. The state of Yugoslavia should secure our freedom and independence, guarantee the equality of its citizens and peoples, and ensure the conditions for more rapid economic development and well-being.

What has happened with our state for us to find ourselves in the situation that for years it has not been able to secure the fundamental civic and human rights and peaceful sleep for the Serbian and Montenegrin population of Kosovo? Where is this state of ours for which we

have paid such a high price, when for years we have not been able to halt inflation or solve the economic crisis while the situation grows worse and worse [indistinct shouting]? What is left of our glorious Communist Party, for which we went to hard-labor prisons and prison camps, which its fighters acclaimed as they stared down gun barrels, which knew how to stop the fascists, win the confidence of the people, and wage and win the liberation war, and which was able to enlist hundreds of thousands of young people for work? Why is it incapable of action now?

We are proud of the Army which we created in an unequal struggle and in an unprecedented way. How can we remain calm now when the Army is being attacked daily with the aim of splitting it, creating republican armies, and finishing off the job of splitting Yugoslavia [indistinct shouting]? This divisive work is being performed by the most responsible people. What else is Joze Smole [stormy shouting of "Down with him!"] doing when he pulls out daily, like a knife from his belt, the question of the trial of four spies [stormy shouting and chanting: "Down with him!"]? What can one say about the unprecedented provocation by Janez Stanovnik and, even more, about the fact that neither the Presidency of Slovenia nor any other Slovene organ has found it appropriate to utter a single word to criticize him or express disagreement with his statements? On the contrary, they express their solidarity with him and defend him [indistinct shouting]. How do they think they can live in this way in the fraternal community of which Serbia is a part if they do not respect the interests, policy, honor, and pride of the Serbian people and their leadership [stormy shouting]?

Belgrade has always been a revolutionary center. The call for an armed uprising came from Belgrade. Belgrade University students alone gave us 218 people's heroes in battle. Today, too, Belgrade is a city of war veterans: Out of the 800,000 surviving war veterans, 52,000 live in Belgrade, including 150 people's heroes and 2,000 recipients of the partisan memorial medal. And all these people are concerned about what is happening with us and what is happening with this country they created.

All these and many other questions are inevitably raised, and they demand an answer. What has happened so that for years we have sought and have failed to find a way out of a deep crisis? How has it been possible for nationalism to increase and provoke interethnic conflicts? How has it been possible for good Communists to become morally corrupted? Where have we lost our roadsigns? Where have we lost our way and gone astray?

The ruling republican bureaucracies have divided everything that exists and have closed it all up within republican boundaries. They are causing quarrels between peoples on the basis of their division. On the basis of the principle that Yugoslavia is only what the republics agree upon, the republican particularist bureaucracy has also gained control over the Yugoslav state and political center. It has introduced the criteria of partiality into its work and made it incapable of solving problems. With unity we were winning and advancing, and with divisions and quarrels we have been brought to a crisis [indistinct shouting]. A [word indistinct] system has been created and unchangeable... [Svabic corrects himself] irreplaceable people have gained power.

Only direct action by the workers class and people has been able to initiate the changes. From Novi Sad last summer to Belgrade today the people have stated their will. The cadre renewal has started but it is only moving with difficulty and slowly: Television witnesses the stubborn resistance of bureaucrats who are thrown out through the door and return through the window. When they are thrown out through the window, they return through the chimney and calmly appear before the cameras, not ashamed that they are black [stormy indistinct shouting].

The people have actively entered politics with their meetings, and they have stated they are for socialism but that socialism must change to a significant degree; that they are for the LC but demand its cadre, ideopolitical, and action rebirth; that they are for federal Yugoslavia based on the decisions of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia but want a united Yugoslavia of equal peoples and nationalities; and that they do not seek the hegemony of the Serbs, numerically the strongest people, but will also not tolerate the unjust, shameful, and humiliating position of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo in their own state [indistinct shouting]. There can be no diktat or imposition by anyone and under any conditions, either on the basis of numbers or consensus or coalition [indistinct shouting]. The people have said that Yugoslavia must be united because a collection of independent little states is not the same thing as Yugoslavia. Many decisions that are harmful to Yugoslavia have been adopted through accords concluded from the position of independent states. The debts that will be paid by many generations are a result of accords between the republics.

Yugoslavia is the common fatherland of all people living in it, and everything that prevents people from feeling this way must be eliminated. We are sending a message to those who are making threats with public polls and percentages that Yugoslavia will not fawn to anyone or buy loyalty with concessions. The gates should be open for all those who do not unconditionally see Yugoslavia as their fatherland and who think they would have a better life somewhere else. Let them go, either to Graz [in Southern Austria] or Philadelphia or wherever else they want. We wish them bon voyage.

These difficult problems must bring everyone to his senses once and for all. The decisions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session provide this hope. They could represent a turning point at the bottom of the curve to which our society has sunk and the beginning of a rebirth. But they can only do so if they are sincerely and

consistently implemented, not just in words but also in deeds. From this magnificent meeting, in which for the first time the whole of Serbia, and not just Serbia, participated, we appeal to all to join all our forces for rebirth and progress. [applause, shouting]

'Organized' Protest Rallies Held in Slovenia

AU2211212288 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 88 p 18

[D. Damjanovic report: "Opposition Is Taking Over the Floor"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 19 Nov—An appeal to the delegates of the Slovene Assembly not to vote for the proposed amendments until a referendum is held, and an appeal to hold a protest against the execution of the sentences passed by the Ljubljana Military Court on the four men for divulging military secrets, are the two main demands expressed at organized rallies in Slovenia. One such rally was held in Portoroz yesterday [18 November]. It was attended by Janez Jansa and Igor Bavcar, and by more than 1,000 people who came to hear them. Another rally was held in Kranj today and was attended by Slovene writers. Other meetings are scheduled to take place in Celje and some other places in Slovenia.

The central event of these manifestations of opposition, which stress the need for the LC to give up its power and the need for the founding of opposition parties, in other words, for party competition, and which explain the constitutional changes as a step back toward a strong role for the state and the party, will certainly be the announced meeting in Ljubljana on 21 November.

It is obvious that opposition is taking over the floor in Slovenia and that it is offering its resolute "no," instead of real arguments. Democracy, in whose name the opposition is appearing, is increasingly taking the shape of anarchic behavior and anarchic demands. Opposing the law and the execution of the lawful sentences is not democracy, but rather an invitation to anarchy and to the rejection of legitimate authority and of the system and its institutions.

The latest statement of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights published in today's issue of Ljubljana DELO states that the proposal for constitutional changes "encroaches on the sovereign right of the Slovene people" and that this is why the "committee is asking the citizens of the SR of Slovenia to express their demand for a referendum by attending the meeting scheduled for 21 November." The committee also appealed to the delegates of the Slovene Assembly not to vote for the proposed amendments.

Stanovnik Speaks Out on Army, Constitution

AU2311110388 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 21 Nov 88 p 2

["M.K."-signed report]

[Text] Maribor, 20 Nov—Speaking at the Saturday [19 November] celebration of the 70th anniversary of the battles for the northern borders, Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, said among other things that the events of our people's revolution represented a continuation of what took place in 1918 and 1919. These lessons about Slovene statehood and sovereignty demonstrate that the foundation of sovereignty is power and not merely what is set forth in the written word and in the law. It is power which writes laws and other written words. First of all we must have power, and then what is written will stand as valid orders and laws, because otherwise it is but scribbling.

Concerning the question of sovereignty, he further said: "Sovereignty is a power against which there is no appeal; it tolerates no patron above it and no control over itself. And if you want to implement this sovereignty, you must have the ability to protect this ultimate level of decision-making. This power can be provided by military power, it can be provided by economic power, and it can similarly be provided by the power of your consciousness and will."

As far as discussions about the Yugoslav People's Army are concerned, he stated: "If we often say that the Yugoslav People's Army is as much Slovene as it is Yugoslav, we say this because in this way we want to confirm the decision that we made within the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia and which we have respected to this day. Therefore, let no one see in this any other thinking on our part because no other thinking on our part is involved in this connection. We made that decision because we knew that our security and our sovereignty would be protected in the best way possible if they were protected by the biggest force possible. For this reason we must join forces and for this reason we, the Yugoslav peoples, have fraternally joined forces. It is for this reason that we accept the Yugoslav People's Army as our own army, a fraternal army with which we live together shoulder to shoulder, as brothers, on the same land, and under the same conditions. And because this military force represents a joint military power, a Yugoslav power, then the economic power is also a joint Yugoslav power that depends on our productive work. This economic power does not materialize of itself; it can only be created by hard, productive work."

Janez Stanovnik also discussed the constitutional amendments in relation to the sovereignty question. He asked in this connection whether the constitutional amendments and the process leading us to adopt them

represent a confirmation of our sovereignty or of something else. He said: "It is clear that it would be completely beyond all human reason if the Slovenes, who represent less than 10 percent of Yugoslavia's population, demanded that our views alone should be adopted. But because we entered the fraternal community of the federation voluntarily and through our own decision, it is a matter of our sovereignty that we are equally justified in insisting on respect for the principle that no part of our integrity and our national sovereignty be destroyed in the process of accords with other fraternal republics. This has been achieved in the process of accords. I will not speak about winners or losers because there have been none. The real and useful process of reaching accords took place during the long public discussion and during the somewhat more closed public discussion in the constitutional commission. I think that the result of these accords is exceptionally positive, especially in the economic sphere. It enables us, through the changes we are introducing in the 1974 Constitution, to overcome the crisis and, through these changes in our economic system and structure, to create the necessary economic conditions that will enable us to resume the path of economic development. I think that for this reason it is totally contradictory to struggle for the sovereignty principles, on the one hand, and to stand on the position of doubting the opportuneness of the proposed amendments to our Constitution, on the other. The proposed amendments to our Constitution enable us to make a breakthrough on the economic front. I therefore think that, following the regular democratic route provided under our existing system, the Slovene people will confirm in the Slovene Assembly the accord on the adoption of the constitutional proposals. But because there are doubts about this question and because these doubts are voiced quite strongly at times, I see another question: It is a question of the unity of our consciousness, a question of the unity of our action, which represents the other element of power, an element of the unity of the will which can convince everyone that we are invincible because we are united."

Provincial Assemblies Back Constitutional Changes

Croatian Assembly Approves Amendments

LD2211180588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1039 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the SR of Croatia today gave its consent to the amendments to the SFRY Constitution and to the constitutional law for implementing these changes along the desired path of creating a modern economy and developing socialist democracy and the spirit of freedom.

Speaking to the joint session of all the three chambers of the Assembly, Dr Andjelko Runjic, president of the Assembly and of the Constitutional Commission, emphasized the significance of the changes for the political and economic sphere and for the relations in the federation. His assessment is that the new constitutional changes consolidate and strengthen our togetherness, and that thus everyone gains by them. [passage omitted]

Macedonian Body Supports Amendments

LD2211161088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1054 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Skopje, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—Delegates of all the chambers of the Macedonian Assembly today accepted the amendments to the SFRY Constitution. Adopting a decision on the granting of consent, it was stated that the constitutional amendments will facilitate radical changes in the economic system and are a precondition for the long-expected reform of the Yugoslav economy and the development of self-management.

Dr Vulnet Satarova, president of the Assembly, assessed that the public discussion on the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution in Macedonia was very successful and fruitful, and acted to mobilize people. A large number of working people and citizens took part in them. Among other things, they demanded that energetic and effective measures should be taken to resolve current problems and for a more rapid way to be found out of the crisis.

Bosnia Adopts Constitutional Changes

LD2211164888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1105 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—Through the constitutional amendments we should break away from the concept of the consensus economy and arbitrary-statist interference in the overall development trends. We should also establish preconditions for strengthening the material basis of associated labor, for the direct as possible power of the working class in managing means of social reproduction, and for the undisturbed functioning of a united Yugoslav market. This was stressed today at the joint session of all chambers of the Assembly of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Sarajevo by its President Zlatan Karavdic.

He said that these amendments ensure especially some basic presuppositions for the federation to function as a federal sovereign state within the framework of constitutional rights and authority. After the expose and the discussion, in whigh eight delegates particpated, the Assembly of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina unanimously agreed to Amendments 9 to 47 to the Yugoslav Constitution in the text established by the FEC on 22 November. Agreement was also given to the law on their implementation. [passage omitted]

With the introduction of principles of direct general elections and secret ballots with several candidates, the election procedure is becoming more democratic, and a balance of class and national interests in the Assembly

delegate system is being secured. Those solutions which establish more consistently and precisely the authority of the federal organs in judicial, executive, and legal areas are especially important.

Zlatan Karavdic said that it is important to stress that all questions in the area of relations in the SR of Serbia in the amendments to the SFRY Constitution are successfully resolved and that conditions are formed on that basis for establishing the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, so that it is able to perform its functions on its entire territory as an equal republic and as a constituent part of the SFRY, without bringing into question the essence of autonomy of the socialist autonomous provinces within the SR of Serbia. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Assembly Votes for Measures

LD2211162788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1152 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Pristina, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—The Kosovo Assembly today adopted the proposal of its Constitutional Commission and approved the amendments to the SFRY Constitution. At a joint session of the Assembly's three chambers, Cemail Sahatdziu, vice president of the provincial Assembly, in explaining the meaning of the amendments, stressed particularly that "the basic principles established by the 1974 SFRY Constitution should not be tampered with" and that "a more comprehensive and more consisent implementation of the constitutional conception of the Yugoslav federation should be ensured."

He also told the delegates that the new features in the federal Constitution ensure "a consistent realization of the constitutional status of Serbia as a state". Without mentioning the public debate, nor controversial stances and demands made in some circles in Kosovo, Sahatdziu said, at the end of an extensive address, that constitutional changes "would remove certain imprecise formulations regarding Serbia and its provinces"—that is, that "the basic principles of the federal Constitution will not be changed in principle".

"The solutions established by the 1974 SFRY Constitution and under which the socialist autonomous provinces are socialist democratic sociopolitical and self-managing communities of the working people and citizens and of equal nations and nationalities, Sahatdziu said, in no way change their status within the federation, nor jeopardize in any way the equality of the nations and nationalities in the process of realizing their rights."

In the introductory address of the vice president of the provincial Assembly, which consisted of 5,000 words, Kosovo is mentioned only at the end, in the last few paragraphs, in the form of an appeal to the delegates that "the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo should approve the amendments to the SFRY Constitution" and the law on their implementation.

He, however, put forward a political view that the constitutional changes "do not represent a real step forward" in our efforts to create the necessary conditions for resolving the state of crisis in which our society has found itself.

Vojvodina Accepts Constitutional Changes

LD2211164388 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] The Vojvodina Assembly has agreed to amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution. Provincial Assembly delegates adopted the constitutional law implementing the amendments. At the joint session of all three chambers of the Assembly, the resignations of Vojvodina Presidency members Djordje Radosavljevic, Nandor Major, Zivko Blagojev, and Slavko Veselinov were accepted.

Today Petar Palkovljevic, Vojvodina's provincial secretary for internal affairs, was relieved of his duties. He has retired.

Iranian Foreign Minister To Arrive 23 Nov

LD2211225488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1110 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 22 (TANJUG)—Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati will arrive for a brief working and friendly visit to Yugoslavia tomorrow, at the invitation of Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar.

The talks in Belgrade are expected to cover the course of the peace process between Iran and Iraq, the latest developments in the Middle East, future activity of the Movement of Non-alignment and other international questions as well as cooperation between Yugoslavia and Iran.